

No 26

The ~~Agnew~~
HISTORY
OF THE
REIGN
OF
LEWIS the XIII^{th.}

King of *France* and *Navarre*.

Tome Second.

Part First.

CONTAINING
The most remarkable Transactions in
France and *Europe*, since the Meeting
of the States-General, to the King's
Marriage.

By Monsieur *VASSOR*,

And Translated by Mr. *Fontvive*.

*Rara Temporum felicitate, ubi sentire quæ ve-
lis, & quæ sentias dicere licet.* Cornel.
Tacit. Hist. Lib. I.

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HISTORICAL
SOCIETY OF
THE
REIGN
OF
KING



1813
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useful and interesting
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THIS Reader will be perhaps surprised to find in this Volume but the History of three Years (or thereabouts) of the Reign of Lewis the 12th; but I dare flatter myself, that all equitable Persons will excuse me, upon account of the great Intrigues I have been obliged to unravel, and the important Transactions I have mentioned! The Detail of what hapned in the Assembly of the States-General of the Kingdom; a great Dispute between the Council of the King and the Parliament of Paris; concerning the lawful Authority of that illustrious and ancient Court; their Remonstances about the Disorders and Mismanagements in the Government;

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ment; their Instances for a Reformation in the State; two Civil Wars; the famous Conference at *Loudun*; two or three Changes in the Ministry; the Imprisonment of the first Prince of the Blood; the true or feigned Enterprize of the Duke *d'Epernon* upon *Racel*; the Expedition of the Mareschal of *L'Esanguieres* into Italy against the King's Commands; the Assassination of the Mareschal *d'Ancre*; the unjust Condemnation of his Wife by the Parliament of Paris; the Disgrace of Queen *Mary of Medicis*; the great Revolution which happened thereupon in the French Court; the beginning of the Fortune and prodigious Elevation of *Luines*; the War in Italy; the Treaty of *Ast* so dishonourable to the Crown of Spain, of which the French King was both the Mediator and Guarantee; the Artifices of the Spaniards to evade the Execution that Treaty; the origin of the Differences between the Republick of Venice and Ferdinand Archduke of *Gratz*, in *Styria*; the continuation of the Divisions in the United Provinces; the cause of the Misunderstanding

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standing between Maurice Prince of Orange and Barneveld, Pensionary of Holland; with several other Foreign Affairs; All these things, I say, could not be succinctly related.

A plain Narrative without Reflections, and Enquiries into the true and secret causes of Events; and the Portraiture of the chief Actors that appear upon the Stage, is rather a Gazette than a History. The Princes and great Lords in France in the Reign of Lewis the XIIIth. were very different from those of the present Times; they were for the most part as many petty Kings in their Governments; they confederated themselves for their common Defence, and the Court had as many Negotiations with them, as with Foreign Princes. The Reformed were then a powerful and considerable Body; they had their cautionary Towns; they held their Assemblies; the Princes and greatest Lords sought their Friendship and Protection; the Court entered into Treaties with them. All

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these things, no doubt, make the History of the Reign of *Lewis XIII.* more particular and entertaining but it must be owned at the same time, that they must needs make it longer.

I have been told, that some Men of Parts are surprised, that I should so often make use of the *Mercure François*, and the *Memoirs of Vittorio Siri*; and therefore 'tis just that I should acquaint them with my reason for it. The *Mercure François* is the Gazette of that Time, and must not such, who shall write the History of the Present Reign, make use of *Gazettes* for the Dates of the Events they shall speak of, and several other things? I find in the *Mercure François* the King's Edicts and Declarations, Arrests of Parliaments, Manifesto's, divers Letters published on the Affairs of those Times, and many other Things of the like Nature; and I think such a Collection as that, is absolutely necessary for writing the History of *Lewis XIII.*

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As to what concerns Siri, I know that many run him down, as an Author without Judgment, Purity or Style; and I must own that he is not over-judicious, and that very often he perplexes the Things he relates: but after all, let his Style be good or bad, what is that to me? I care only for his exactness and sincerity. I seldom make use of him but for the Affairs of Italy, with which he seems better acquainted than with others, and upon which he enlarges very much, tho' in a tedious manner. His Accounts of the most material Transactions, agree very well with Nani and other Historians of that Time. He has collected many curious and important Pieces. He quotes secret Dispatches, and what he tells us thereof, agrees exactly with publick Affairs and Writers; and why should I suspect him to have forged Letters, when he marks the Dates thereof, the Authors of 'em, and the Persons to whom they were directed? If those Pieces were spurious; that would plainly appear in several Occasions. As to

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his Judgment, one may s. y., that *Gregory of Tours* and other Historians of the first and second Race of the French Kings and several who have written under the Third; *Ruffinus*, *Socrates*, *Sozomenes*, *Eusebius* and many other Ecclesiastical Writers, were perhaps less judicious, and less acquainted with what they wrote than *Vittorio Siri*. Must not a Man make use of those Authors, when he finds no better and surer Guides, and when he has no reasonable Ground to question the Truth of their Accounts?



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THE

IV. Book of the History of
THE HISTORY
OF THE
REIGN
LEWIS XIII.

King of France and Navarre.

BOOK V.

WE shall see in the Assembly of the States-General of France, of which I am now going to speak the weak and ill efforts of a dying King. The People overburthen'd with extraordinary Taxes and Imposi-



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Impositions, which they almost bear alone, will be the only Body that gives any sense of Life. The Clergy and Nobility, those two Bodies heretofore so powerful and formidable, have been striving these many years to outdo each other in forging the ignominious chains of their Slavery, and like inanimate Machines, have no other motion than just as the Court is pleased to give 'em. Since the reuniting of the great Fiefs to the Crown, and the unhappy *concordat* or agreement between *Francis* the I. and the Pope, the Nobility and Clergy have run headlong into Slavery: The latter think of nothing else but grasping at new Benefices and greater Dignities in the Church, and the former endeavour by the merit of their blind submissions, to advance themselves into military Preferments, Governments, and other Rewards, which the Kings of *France*, become more rich and powerful by the increase of their Demesns, distribute according to their absolute Will and Pleasure.

The Prince of Condé laboured very hard to get those that were most devoted to his Interest, to be chosen Deputies to the Assembly of the States. He flattered himself, that the Majority of the Members being convinced of the necessity of reforming the Disorders and Mismanagements in the Government, would willingly concur with him for lessening the Authority of the Queen, and removing a favourite Foreign-

The various designs of Queen Mary of Medicis and the Prince of Condé, with respect to the meeting of the States-General.



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er, and Ministers, who were grown too absolute ; but he was soon after sensible of the truth of what the Duke of Rohan had told him, that the World do's easily forsake Persons of the highest Qualities, when ever they are no longer able to be revenged on their Enemies, nor to reward such who devote themselves to their Service. *Marie of Medicis* being so advised by skilful and experienced Ministers, put off the Meeting of the States till her Son was declared of Age ; and being satisfid with the double Marriage that she had concluded with *Spain*, she dexterously improved the overtures made unto her, for promoting the Division between the three Bodies which compose that Assembly. New Intrigues were so well managed by her Creatures, that after long and tedious Negotiations, those who sincerely designed the Good of their Country, were surprized to see, that instead of the easie and other advantages the People expected from that Assembly, they found themselves now staked down to an absolute and arbitrary Power, the Foundations of which had been laid above an hundred years before.

Since the Assembly of the States-General, (the History of which I am now going to write,) were the last which met in France, and that there is no ground to hope they will ever be call'd together again ; I think we may be allowed to remember the ancient constitution of the Government of our Country, the Subversion of which all

The aduan-
tage of the
States-Gen-
eral being ex-
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1614.

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mines L. V.
ch. 18.

true French-Men bewail and lament. Under the Reign of *Lewis XI.* a Prince upon whom a certain Historian passes the ridiculous *Encomium* of having put the Kings of France *hors de Page*, that is, out of the Guardianship of their Councils, or rather to have opened the way to Tyranny, the flattering Couriers began to say, *that it was High Treason to talk of the Assembling the States-General*; However, they were obliged to call them in the beginning of the Reign of his Son *Charles VIII.* who was just past his Minority; and if all the ill things that had been done by *Lewis XI.* and all the Grievances of the People were not entirely redressed; yet thus much they obtained, that a good part of their Taxes were taken off, and the number of their Standing Forces was considerably lessened. But France began to make the Assembly of the States General useless under the following Reigns, and the Nation seemed by degrees to be contented without them. *Lewis XII.* never call'd them, because he pretended to be as little as possible he could burthen som to his People, by whom that good Prince was stil'd the Father. *Francis the I.* and *Henry the II.* did the like, and never called them neither; but they were led by quite different motives; for they chose rather to be guided by their own Will, or that of their Mistresses and Favourites, than by the ancient Laws of the Kingdom. The miseries that befel the French under the unfortunate Reign of the three Sons of *Henry*

Book VI. LEWIS XIII.

5

Henry the II. awakened them out of their Lethargy ; and they began then to think , that the calling of the States-General was the only Remedy left to prevent the great miseries the Kingdom laboured under. They met at *Orleans* in the Reign of *Charles IX.* and obtained very good Regulations and Laws which were ill observed ; but the Party of the *League* having got the Ascendant in the States which met at *Blois* in the Reign of *Henry III.* that Assembly did more harm than good a great deal. However it will not be improper heré to take notice of the Opinion of the wisest Men of that unfortunate Age, concerning the Advantages *France* might reap from the Assembly of the States-General.

Sovereign Courts, said a famous Arch-bishop of *Vienna* in the prefence of *Francis II.* and the more considerable Persons of *France* called together upon an extraordinary occasion at *Fontainbleau*, to give their advice about the State of the Kingdom, are but Tribunals that have been erected for administering Justice between private Persons, and to decide their Controversies ; but the States-General are as an amicable conference between the King and his Subjects, wherein the People represent with a modest Liberty, their Grievances and Complaints. If the King cannot remedy all the disorders complained of, he then acquaints his Subjects with the reasons why ; But the calling of the States has this good effect at least, that the People do's more patiently

Charles de
Marillac v.
Thuanus,
l. 25. A.
1560.

The History of Book VI.

and willingly bear, not a yoke which the King has imposed upon them at his pleasure; but such burthens which the unhappiness of the times obliges them to submit to.

The Chancellor *De l'Hospital*, said a great deal more in the Assembly of the States-General, which met the year following at Orleans. The ancient Kings of France, according to the opinion of that great Minister, used to call frequently those Assemblies to confer with their Subjects, and have their Advice on the more important Affairs. This was what they called a holding of a Parliament; a name which retains still its primitive signification in England and Scotland. They treated in those Assemblies of several things, of the necessary Supplies of Men and Money; of the good Administration of Justice, of the Portions that ought to be given to the younger Sons of the King, and of the Government of the Kingdom, and how the same was to be provided for. That it was necessary that the People should have from time to time a free access to their Prince, that the several Provinces of his Kingdom may present unto him their Complaints and Grievances, and that the Subjects may be eased of the burthens unjustly imposed upon them. Some Men have advanced a notion, that it is not for the King's advantage to call the States-General. They say the Majesty of a Prince ought not to stoop so low as to advise with his Subjects about what he intends to do. But these are false Politicks! The most worthy thing a King can do, is to bear

Maximes véritables &
importantes pour l'institution du Roi.
Ch. 8.

bis

his People, and do 'em Justice. Kings were first of all elected for that end. A Tyrant may wage War, and often manage it better than a good Prince. Courtiers disguise or conceal Truth from their Prince, who may be easily imposed upon, if he do's not stand upon his Guard. Tis only in the Assembly of the States, that he can truly know it. How many important Matters is the Prince a stranger to, when he neglects to give a free and publick Audience to his Subjects? What mischief is he not capable of doing, when he refuses to confer with his People, and take their Advice? He oppresses his Kingdom with Taxes; he puts himself to excessive and unnecessary Charges; He sells Places in Courts of Justice to wicked Judges, and confers Ecclesiastical Preferments on base and unworthy Persons. 'Tis a barbarous thing for a Prince not to shew himself to his Subjects, nor to have any communication with them. Such a King as this sees only by the eyes of his Ministers, hears by their Ears, and instead of governing his Kingdom, he suffers himself to be led and ruled by others. These base Flatterers who endeavour to dissuade the King from calling the States, have their own particular interest in view, and not that of their Masters. They would govern at their will and pleasure, and do whatsoever they please with Impunity; they are afraid that good Men shou'd have the Ear of their Prince, because they are jealous that they will discover their ill Administration to him. The Assembly of the States-General cannot be

1614. suspected by any but Tyrants : A good Prince can have nothing to fear from them.

Recherches de Pasquier, L.2. Ch.2.&c 7. If the *Richelieus*, the *Colberts* and the *Telliers* had been as true Frenchmen, as the Chancellor *de l'Hospital*, and had had as much Honesty, would they not have rather inspired *Lewis XIII.* and his Son with those upright Sentiments, so beneficial to their Country, than the Tyrannical Maxims of the detestable *Machiavel*? But how just and judicious soever those Remarks of that incomparable Minister may be, yet it must be owned, that he did not thoroughly understand the true Original of the States-General in *France*; for they fall very short in point of Antiquity of the first Parliaments, and are altogether different from 'em.

The ancient constitution of the Government in France. We do not sufficiently understand how the Kings of the first Race governed their Subjects, and it seems, that, as Conquerors, they had an absolute Power at least over the Inhabitants of those Countries they had subdued. The Princes called the chief of the *French* Nation upon some extraordinary and important occasions. When the Mayors of the Palace had usurped all the Royal Authority, they thought they should render their usurpation to be less odious and suspected to the Great Men of the Nation, if they called them together at least once a year. The King, to whom those Mayors had left only the Name and outward appearance of a Sovereign, presided in the Assembly, there the complaints of

The principal Officer of the Crown.

of the People were heard, and their Foreign Ambassadors were admitted to their Audience. Pepin exactly kept this custom after he was advanced to the Throne. The chief of the Order of the Clergy had begun some time before to assist in those Assemblies, which were continued by Charlemaine, and rendered more frequent by Lewis the Merk. It was in those Assemblies that the Kings of the second Race published their *capitular Decrees* and other Orders, and what they enacted by the advice and consent of the Grandees and Prelates of the Kingdom. The Credit and Authority of those Parliaments grew afterwards, as the Power of the Children of Charlemain decreased.

Hugh Capet having been recognized King by virtue of an agreement concluded with the Dukes, Earls and Barons, that new Sovereign and his Successors, used to Assemble their Peers and Vassals, the Barons and Prelates sometime in one place, and sometime in another, according to the exigency of Affairs; and this the Kings of the third Race called *the holding their Court or their Parliament*. There the differences between the Peers and Barons with the King were decided, and the more important Affairs of the Kingdom debated. There the private disputes between the Dukes, Earls and Barons were definitively ended, and the encroachments of the Pope and Clergy repulsed. There they heard the Complaints of the People about

1614. the Administration of Justice, and the vexations of the Clergy. What since has been called the *third State*, to wit, the People, had then no Seat in those Assemblies. They as yet were only compdsed of the Clergy and Nobility, in the Reigns of St. Lewis, and Philip the Bold. Such, to speak without partiality, was that most ancient and longest constitution of the Government in France. The King was obliged upon important occasions, either as to Peace or War, to consult with the Princes of the Blood, the Officers of the Crown, and the chief of the Nobility and Clergy, called together from time to time to consider of the Publick good, and the preservation of the State.

This is so very certain, that *Philip the Fair*, and his Son *Louis le Hutin* having erected a *Sedentary Parliament* for the administration of Justice between private Men, even against the King himself, on some certain occasions, a Council was set up at the same time, consisting of the Princes of the Blood, Officers of the Crown, some great Lords, and a select number of the Members of that Parliament, whose business was to assist the King with their Advice in the Government of the State. This new Assembly was called the *Great, Close, and Privy Council*, and was often called as the ancient Parliaments, when and where the King thought it most convenient for his Affairs; but they generally attended the Court. This Council continu-

ed.

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II

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ed till the Reign of *Charles VII.* Now as it was supposed, that a small number of Councillors might either be imposed upon or bribed; therefore to remedy this Inconvenience, it was judged very proper to send still to the Parliament, all the Edicts and Orders which the King would have published by advice of his Council, and the Parliament carefully examined and register'd them, if they were found agreeable to the antient Laws of the Kingdom. I know that the Kings of *France*, and especially *Lewis XI.* have sometimes attempted to cause their Edicts to be register'd against the Advice of the Parliament; But know we not that those absolute Orders were look'd upon as a violence and force upon the Laws and publick Liberty? And have not Magistrates openly protested against such Attempts and Proceedings? Now whatever our most unjust Kings have formerly attempted against the lawful Rights of their People, is nothing, if compared with what has been practised in our days. The Edicts must be Register'd before we are allowed to make any Addresses or Remonstrances to the King. If the Members of Parliament, who have suffered the establishment of a practice which totally subverts the antient Government of *France*, and sets up a *Tyrannical Power*, (for Truth must not be concealed) if those Magistrates, I say, had had as much Courage, Honesty, and Religion, as their Predecessors, should they not rather

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ther have quitted their Imployments, nay, laid down their Lives, than so basely betray their Liberties, and consent to the Universal Oppression of their Countrey? The French Kings have been long ago working under-hand before they could compass any thing like it; but they never durst so much as attempt what Lewis the XIV. has carryed on, without the least Resistance. Our Kings have so much enlarged their Power and Terrour, as to have begun to Rule Absolutely, according to their meer Will and Pleasure, ever since the English were beaten out of France under Charles the VII; but however Charles had always a great regard for his Nobility, who had so well served him against the English. His Son Lewis the XI. had no other thoughts, but how to settle his Arbitrary Power, which was his Idol; but the Princes and other Great Men, entred into a Confederation against him, under the specious pretence of the Publick Good, which obliged that cunning and dissembling Prince to hearken to the good advice that was given him, to break by way of Negotiation, a League which might otherwise reduce him to the narrow Authority of the first Kings of the third Race. The Apprehension he was in that the Dukes of Burgundy and Britany, who were then very powerful, would oppose his continual Encroachments on the Liberties of his Subjects, was a Barrier to his violent proceedings for some time; but

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but the Duke of *Burgundy* dying without any Male-Issue, and *Charles the VIII.* having united to the Crown the Duchi of *Britany*, by marrying the Heiress thereof, the French Kings thought that no body then could cross their Designs; and therefore set themselves above all the good and antient Laws of the Kingdom. *Lewis the XII.* had a love and tenderness for his People, and took care that Justice should be well Administred; but in other things he Governed with such a Power, as wanted little from being Absolute, and the Cardinal *D'Amboise* alone was almost his whole Council. *Francis the I.* and his Children, did follow the example which *Lewis XII.* had set them, of having no other Council than their Favourites and Ministers; but wanting the uprightness and virtue of their Predecessor, they openly abolished the best Institutions, and oppressed their Subjects, to gratifie their Luxury and Ambition. They had found means to alter the constitution of the Great Councils, as well as of the antient Parliaments; and those two Bodies which had at first been instituted for the Government of the State, were then but two ordinary Courts of Justice to decide Litigious Affairs. *Henry IV.* followed the steps of his Predecessors, but made a show as if he design'd to render his People more happy. That Prince indeed had some Clemency, Affability, and other good qualities in him; but I don't know whether

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Machiavel
Disc. on ch. i.
Dec. of Livy
L. 3. ch. i.
and in his
Book of the
Prince. ch. 19.

Of the anti-
ent just Reve-
nue of the
French
Kings.

Recherches de
Pasquier l. 2.
chap. 7.

ther the fears he had of the remains of the League, and of some of the discontented Great Lords, was not a greater Restraint to him, than Justice and Equity. The Cardinals Richelieu and Mazarin at last compleated the Work, and dissipated the only shadow of Liberty, and the traces of the ancient Policy remaining in the Kingdom, the good and just Government, of which Machiavil their great Master in Politicks could not forbear to praise.

In the antient Parliaments, they never spoke of laying new Impositions on the People, nor demanding Money of them; because, according to the fundamental Laws of the Monarchy, the King was to live upon his Demesnes, that is out of the Revenue of the Lands and Forests belonging to him, and when Kings took a Progress in their Kingdom, they were allowed to lie one night in the rich Abbes, or other great Livings, at the charge of the Proprietors thereof. This was called *Droit de Gite*, and the Bishops and Abbots often redeemed themselves from it by a small Sum of Money. The People on the other hand were obliged to find from place to place Horses and Carriages, which Duty, as well as that of Gite, was likewise bought off; and besides these two Duties, the Clergy and the People had no other charge to bear. Kings did not then think that it was lawful to exact the least thing from their Subjects, and St. Lewis forbid his Children in his last Will,

to

to raise any *Taille* or Tax upon them. 1614.
Some of his Predecessors had forced their Subjects to pay some other things by way of *Capitation*, and this was called *Taille* too; but Lewis IX. that good Prince, being better instructed in the Rules of Equity, and the Laws of the Kingdom, thought fit to forbid his Children committing any such Injustice which was impatiently born by the French, but a Precept that was soon forgotten by his Posterity. The Treasure of the King in those fortunate Days, was nothing but his *Demesnes*, which was held so sacred as to be unalienable, by the ancient constitution of the State. Now what a very wise Institution was this! For the King not being allowed to sell or give away his *Demesnes*, he had always a sufficient Fund to subsist upon, and had no pretence to demand any supply from his Subjects. The rich Clergymen were obliged to entertain him one Night in his necessary Travels; the People provided Carriages and Horses; and the Nobility served him at their own Expences in the Wars, which the Parliament thought just and necessary.

Charles the VIII. was the first who mortgaged part of his *Demesnes* for his rash and imprudent expedition into *Italy*; but notwithstanding his Letters sent to the Parliament, which were subscribed by thirteen Noblemen his chief Councillors, yet that wise Company had much a do to verify and register the same, as foreseeing the fatal Consequences of that Innovation:

And

Ibid. 16.ch. 28.

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And if the necessity of affairs oblig'd them to consent, that one part of the laid Demesne should be Mortgaged, it was with this Clause, only for that time, and that that Example should not be drawn into consequence. However, this precaution proved useless, for when once there is a breach made in the Sacred Laws of a Kingdom, the whole Constitution is in great danger of being utterly overthrown. Francis I. and his Sons, Mortgaged almost all their Demesnes upon several pretences, notwithstanding the Remonstrances of the Parliament; so that by an entire and fatal change and subversion of the Laws of the Government, the Demesnes are now the least branch of the King's Revenues; and Tailles and other Impositions must be daily imposed to enable him to prosecute Unjust and Expensive Wars, to build magnificent Palaces, to keep a numerous Household, to maintain in time of Peace a great number of standing Troops, of no use at all, for the defence of the Kingdom, which ravage the Provinces, and serve only the better to support his Usurpations on the publick Liberty, and to gratifie the unsatiable covetousness of his Ministers, Favourites, and Mistresses.

*The Sovereign
hath no right
to lay any Taxes,
without the
consent of his
People.*

To say now that the Kings of France have no right to lay any Taxes without the consent of their Subjects, will be certainly looked upon as a Paradox, enough to frighten People whose Spirits are so low and degenerate, as to think it Meritorious to sacrifice

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crifice their Lives and Estates for supporting a Government as harsh and rigorous, as that of the Ottomans; however, it may be easily proved, that this Doctrine, though perhaps now it may appear unto them false and new, was not long ago received in France, as an universal Truth. It is an Error, says the Pious Gerson, to Attribute unto Kings a Right to Tax as they list, the Estates of their Subjects, and to lay Taxes upon them without a pressing necessity: Such who do so, Rule as Tyrants, and not as lawful Sovereigns. The Tyrant only seeks his own Advantage, whereas a good King believes himself set up to promote the good of his People. Now if it be ask'd, who is to be Judge when a Tax is necessary or no? Whether it be the King or the People, or both together Jointly? Nicholas de Clemangis will explain unto us the Opinion of his Master Gerson. The King, says he, cannot lay any Taxes, except in case of extream necessity, with the advice and consent of the three States of the Kingdom. They are to continue but for a certain time, and to expire, so soon as the necessity which occasioned them, is removed. The antient Registers of the Chamber of Accounts do shew, that the Kings of France were not guilty of many unnecessary expences. If their Successors would follow their good Example, this Government would not degenerate into Tyranny.

These are not Speculations of some heated Religious People, but this is a Law Nicole Gilles
fol. 157. which was solemnly enacted in the Assembly

*Gerson opus-
culo contra
adulatores
Principum,
consideration*

17.

*Nicol de Cle-
mangis L. de
Lapin & re-
paratione
Justitiae,
ch. 17.*

*Philip de
Comines* 1.5.
ch. 18. L. 6.
ch. 7.

*This Remon-
strance is in
MS. in the
Library of M.
Dupuy.*

sembly of the States-General of the Kingdom, held under *Philip de Valois*, in the year 1338. where in the presence of that Prince, and by his consent it was declared ; That the King can levy no Tax on the People, without an extream and evident necessity ; and by virtue of the Octroy or Grant made unto him by the States. When this Power has been denied to the French Kings, the People have not thereby taken from them any Priviledge belonging to other Sovereigns. There is no King or Prince in the World, says the Judicious Philip de Comines, that hath power to levy one penny upon his Subjects besides his Demesnes, without the leave and consent of those that are to pay it, unless it be by Tyranny and Violence. Charles VII. was the first who imposed the Taille at his pleasure, without the consent of the States ; but, says the same Historian, he charged his Soul marvelously, and the Souls of his Successors by that fact, and gave his Kingdom such a cruel Wound, as will be bleding this long while. The Prelates of France were not silent on this great occasion ; John Juvenal of the Ursini, Archbishop of Rheims, freely represented unto that unjust Prince, that his Flatterers deceived him, when they advised him not to take any notice of the People, who always exclaim against Taxes, and yet pay them. Such Discourses, says that good Prelate, may be uttered before a Tyrant, but a most Christian King ought not to suffer them. How great a power soever may be attributed unto you, Sir,

you

*you have no Right to take my Estate away
from me ; you have your Demesne , and
every private Man has his own.*

What I am now going to say of the <sup>The Original
of the Estates
General in
France.</sup> true Original of the States-General in France, will be another proof of that important Maxim I have laid down. *Philip the Fair* procured the Canonization of *Saint Lewis* his Grandfather ; but thought little of keeping the precept left by that good Prince to his Children, not *to raise any Taille or Tax on their People*. Among the several Innovations introduced by *Philip the IV.* he attempted to exact from his Subjects the hundredth, and another time the fiftieth penny of all their Estates; but the Inhabitants of *Paris, Roan and Orleans* rose up against it, and killed the Collectors thereof. Upon his return from his Expedition against the *Flemings*, he ordered that 6 Deniers per livre should be paid him out of all the Provisions that should be sold in Cities, which Tax being absolutely contrary to the antient Laws of the Kingdom, the People did openly refuse to submit thereto. *Enguerrand de Marigny*, Minister of the Injustices of that Prince, advised him to obtain by gentle means, what he could not get by his own Authority, and That was the first time that *Philip* called an Assentibl, wherein the Clergy, Nobility, and the City of *Paris* appeared by their Deputies. *Enguerrand* represented unto them, the necessities of the Kingdom with so much Eloquence,

*Recherches de
pasquier, l. 12.
ch. 7.*

char

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that the three Estates gave their consents to a very heavy Imposition.

The Successors to *Philip*, especially those of the name of the *Valois*, who came to the Crown after his three Sons, improved that Overture to their advantage; and the great and fatal Wars, which *Philip* of *Valois*, and his Son *John*, had with the English, having obliged them to demand extraordinary supplies from their Subjects, they used frequently to call together the three Estates of the Kingdom, to represent unto them the pressing occasions of the Crown, and to desire Money to answer the charges of a War raised and carryed on by a Victorious Enemy. Thus the People, or otherwise *the third State*, begun to be called to the General Assemblies, which consisted before only of the Clergy and Nobility. The People could not bear the extraordinary Taxes laid upon the Kingdom, of which they themselves paid the greatest part, but to obtain their consent, it was thought fit to complement them, and call them to the Assembly of the two first Orders of the Kingdom. They were pleased with this Honour and Distinction, and became more supple and flexible to the studied and labour'd Speeches the King's Ministers made them, to supply with Liberality, the pressing occasions of the Crown. The best way to gain the People, has always been to feed them with great hopes, that their Grievances shall be considered, and their Remonstrances and Complaints favourably received

*When the Peo-
ple were first
called to the
Parliament:*

and redressed ; and as the wants of the 1614.

King still more increased, so they allowed the People more Authority and Credit in the Assembly of the States-General of the Kingdom. *Charles the V.* had still more regard for the People ; and it is observable, that a Prince who has deserved the glorious Sir-name of *Wise*, did always affect to have his Orders received, either in the Assembly of the States, or else in some extraordinary Assembly of the Parliament ; so that the Authority and Power of the *Third Estate*, is an Institution which the *Wise King* of France was pleased to confirm.

As *Philip the Fair* was advised to call the People only when he wanted supplies of Money, they were not called in the succeeding Reigns at first, about the great Affairs which concerned either the Succession of the Crown, or the Government of the Kingdom. *Charles the IV.* dying without Male-Issue, *Edward III.* King of *England*, pretended to the Crown, being Nephew to the late King by *Isabella of France*, his Mother ; but *Philip Count de Valois*, grounding his pretensions on what they call in *France* the *Salick Law*, urged on the contrary, that being the first Prince of the Blood Royal, he was the only Person lawfully intituled to Succeed *Charles* his Cousin-German, who left none but Daughters behind him. That great and important difference, was decided by the Peers and Barons of *France*, assembled at *Paris*, and not by the three States of the Kingdom, l. 4.

Froissart I.
Vol. of his
History, ch.
22. Vignier

tho'

1614. tho' the Father of the 3 last Kings began to call them together. The continual occasions for Money that *Philip de Valois*, *John* and *Charles the V.* laboured under, obliged them to have a great deference for their People, and to Communicate unto them the Affairs of State. *John* being taken Prisoner by the *English*, in the fatal Battel of *Poictiers*, the Dauphin his Son called the

Froissart Vol. States-General, to advise and ordain how
 1. ch. 170. the Kingdom should be Governed during the
 Vol. 4. chap. 44. *Nicole* King's Imprisonment. They were again
 Gilles fol. 179. called to consider of the exorbitant Ransom
Chronique the King of *England* demanded for that
Scandaleuse Prince; and afterwards when *Charles the VI.* became unfit to govern the Kingdom,
 Pag. 117, the States General confer'd the Administration
 148, &c. *Phi-*
Lip de Comines l. 3. c. i. thereof on the Dukes of *Berry* and *Burgundy*, preferring them to the Duke of *Orleans* the King's Brother, whom they thought too young to execute so great a Trust.

Lewis XI. Notwithstanding he was so jealous of his Authority, and so great an Enemy to all manner of Constraint, yet could not forbear to follow the Examples of his Predecessors, or at least he was forced seemingly to do so, and to Advise with his People about the Reformation of the Government, which had been demanded of him with Sword in hand; on the Portion that was promised to be paid him by his Brother *Charles*; and on the Wars which he intended against the Duke of *Burgundy*. To be short, it appears that since

since the Reign of *Philip de Valois* all matters of State relating to the Administration of Justice, the publick Revenue, and other Affairs were brought before the States General, and debated in their Assemblies; though to speak Truth, it must be owned that those Assemblies have been almost all along but an Artifice or Tool the Court has made use of, to drain Money from the People. *Henry the IV.* followed the same Method in the *Diminutive States* he called at *Roan*; and now let us see how his Widow *Mary de Medicis*, and the Ministers of *Lewis the XIII.* behaved themselves in the Assembly of the States-General, the calling of which had been obtained by the Prince of *Conde* and his Party, by the first Article of the Treaty of *Saint Meneboud*.

It was agreed by the said Article, that the States should meet at *Sens* on the 25th of *August*, 1614, while the King was still in his Minority; but this pleased not *Mary de Medicis*; she was afraid lest the said States should inquire into the Administration of Affairs during her Regency, and desire the Removal of *Concbini*, and some other Ministers from the Court. She was afraid likewise that if the States were Assembled when the King should come of Age, they would not let her continue in the same Authority she had been in during his Minority. For preventing these difficulties, out of which Queen *Mary* could not easily have extricated her self, had the Prince of *Conde* shewed

*The Meeting
of the States
translated
from Sens to
Paris.
Mercure
Francois
1614.*

shewed more prudence in his Conduct: The Mareschal *d'Ancre* and the other Ministers, who had reason to fear as much upon their own Account, as their Mistress's, advised the Queen to make some pretences to put off the meeting of the States for six Weeks or two Months; because the King's Minority expiring before that time, they had an opportunity to induce the young Prince to declare, that being satisfied with the Administration of his Mother, he would continue to her the same Authority she had before; and would chuse a Privy Council, consisting of such Persons as she should approve of.

The Prince of *Conde* had not penetration enough to dive into the designs of the Queen, or at least if he knew them, he did not take just Measures to disappoint them, though that was no hard thing to effect. Instead of going to take possession of his new Government of *Amboise*, and making to no purpose I don't know what enterprise upon *Poitiers*, he should have tarryed at *Court*, to enlarge more and more his Interest with the Great Men of his Party, and to gain over others: He should have ingaged the Duke of *Vendome* to have held his peace, till the end of the States, and to insist upon their Meeting, according to the Treaty of *St. Meneboud*; whereas the useless Resistance of *Vendome* in *Britany*, and the ill timed motions of *Conde* in *Poitou*, afforded a favourable pretence to the Queen Regent, for going into those Provinces

Provinces with her Son, and putting off the Meeting of the Estates, till the return of their Majesties to *Paris*. In the mean time, the King became of Age, and his Mother growing proud of the Reduction of the Duke of *Vendome*, and the precipitated Retreat *Condé* had been forc'd to make at *Chateauroux*; She caused the Meeting of the States to be translated from *Sens* to *Paris*, and to sit the tenth of October, 1614.

I will not enter upon the particulars of the Ceremonies observed on this Occasion, and the Disputes that arose thereupon; which would be too tedious: But I shall only take notice, that the Spiritual House or Chamber, consisted of one hundred and forty Members, whereof there were five Cardinals, seven Archbishops, and forty seven Bishops. The Chamber of the Nobility consisted of one hundred and thirty two Persons. And that of the third State, of one hundred and eighty two Deputies, all Officers of Justice, or concerned in the publick Revenue. *Francis de Joyeuse*, Cardinal, Archbishop of *Roan*, and Dean of a Company, which the pride of the Court of *Rome* has called the *Sacred College*, was at the Head of the Clergy: *Henry de Beaufremont*, Baron of *Senecy*, was President of the Chamber of the Nobility: And *Robert Miron*, Pro-
vost of the Merchants of *Paris*, of that of the third State. These three Chambers met in three several Halls in the

Covent of the *Augustine* Friars, having respectively desir'd that it should be so, that they might confer together with greater conveniency. It was first of all agreed upon, That after having kept three several public Fasting days, to implore the Assistance and Blessing of the Almighty, there should be on *Sunday* the twenty sixth of the said Month, a solemn Proceſſion from the Church of the *Augustines* to *Nostre-Dame*, or our Lady ; That the opening of the Assembly should be made the day after, in the Hall of the Palace of *Bourbon*, and that on the first of *November*, they should all of 'em receive the Communion in the Church of the *Augustines*. The King and Queen with the whole Court, assisted at this Proceſſion, which was performed with more Pomp than Piety. *Gondi*, Archbishop of *Paris*, officiated ; and *Francis de Saurdis*, Cardinal, and Archbishop of *Bordeaux*, preached in the Cathedral, before that great Assembly.

The next day being appointed for opening the Assembly, young *Lewis* attended with his Mother, and the whole Court appeared in the Hall of the Palace of *Bourbon*, and told them in few words, that his chief Aim in calling the States General, was to hear the Complaints of his Subjects, and to redress their Grievances. The Chancellor *de Sillery* spoke next according to custom, on the present juncture of Affairs. He made a long and pompous

pompous Harrangue about what had been 1614. transacted during the Regency of the Queen. He then enlarged upon the Reasons which had induced the King to call the States : And exhorted all the Members to endeavour unanimously the good of their Country, and the King's service. But this elaborate Speech of the Chancellor made little impression on the Assembly : They knew he was a man devoted to the Court, which made use of him to amuse the People with great and fine words, whilst he with the Creatures of the Queen, and of her Marshal *d'Ancre*, were caballing under hand to sow division between the three Houses, and divert them from taking good Resolutions. When *Silleri* had finished his Speech, he went to the King, as to receive his Orders, and being returned to his place, he told the three States of the Kingdom, that his Majesty gave 'em leave to draw up an Account of their Grievances and Demands, and that his Majesty was pleased to promise unto them a favourable Answer.

Marquemont Archbbishop of *Lyons*, stood up, and stepping toward the middle of the Hall, made a Speech in the name of the Clergy, which was but a fulsom piece of Flattery to cajole the young King withall, and his Mother, whom he compared to *Debora*. The Wishes, with which he concluded his Speech were still more extravagant and ridiculous than the rest. That

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all your Subjects being united in the Bosom of the Church by the Example of your Piety, said he to the King, and the East subdued by your Armies, you may set up again the Holy and Triumphant Cross upon the Walls of Jerusalem; that being the Darling of Heaven, and the Object of all the Worlds respect; You may happily see the conclusion of a Century which began at your Nativity. How extravagant soever this Speech of the Archbishop of Lyons then was, would it not have been very glorious for the Clergy of France to have followed the good Maxims insinuated therein? and would not the World have been glad to have seen the Prelates of the Gallican Church inspire their King with the Design of reuniting his Subjects by the example of his Piety, rather than by force, and violence? But, alas! instead of following the Maxims that Marguement laid down before that august Assembly, they have been more careful to obtain Decrees and Declarations against them, as contrary to publick Faith, as to the Spirit of the Gospel, than to exhort their Prince to good Manners and Piety. That very Prince whom at this Day they set up above the Constantine's and Theodosius's, because of his Zeal, and the purity of his Faith, for extirpating Heresy, has not much edified the Romish Church by his Continence, Moderation, and other Christian Vertues.

Roncherolles, Baron of Pont St. Pierre, spoke next in the name of the Nobility, and

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and his Speech came nothing short of that of *Marquemont*, in point of Hyperboles and Flattery. He had the Vanity to shew there, that he was not altogether a stranger to History; but there appeared so little Judgment in the Choice, and disposition of the Matters of fact he borrowed out of it, that his Speech became more a Pedant of a College, than of a wise and solid Gentleman, as he pretended to be. *Miron* Speaker of the *Third State*, made his Speech upon his Knees, which the others had not done, and his Discourse was more full of Sense and Gravity than the former. He represented that the *Assembly of the States* is an amicable and fatherly Conference between the Sovereign and his Subjects, and that the chief Aim thereof, was the Reformation of Abuses, which disgrace the several Orders of the Kingdom. He exhorted then the young Prince to hear favourably the Complaints of his Subjects, and to employ his innocent Hands in correcting the Evil which he had not been guilty of. The Speakers of the Clergy and Nobility having so much commended the Queen, *Miron* could not forbear some Praises of her; but the Encomium was short and modest; and it was easily perceived, that a certain Decorum, and the Example of the former, had extorted it from him. After some few Commendations, *Miron* told the Queen, that the *Third State* entreated her Majesty to inter-

cede with her Son in behalf of the poor People, who expected some ease of their Miseries ; which was as much as handsomely to tell her, that instead of endeavouring to keep her Power and Authority, she ought rather to apply her self to the reformation of the Disorders which had been introduced in the former Reigns, and continued during her Regency.

*Artifices of
the Court for
dividing the
States.*

The Court has always been more upon their Guard against the *Third State* than the other two ; for the same consisting for the most part of the Magistrates of Cities of the several Provinces of the Kingdom, who have little or no relation to the Court, and put in for no Favours or Preferments, they assert with vigour the Interest of those who have chosen them, and aim at the lessening of the Impositions, and redressing of the Grievances of the People. The Clergy and Nobility are not so much concerned for the Publick Calamities, because they feel the least part of them ; and the Court having a great many Preferments and Gratuities to bestow upon them , they live in a perpetual dependence on it, and follow their directions with an entire submission ; so that the Queen and her Ministers bent all their Thoughts how to break the Measures which the *Third State* were like to take, to oblige the Court to lessen the Taxes, and redress the Abuses complained of. Many of the Clergy and Nobility being thus devoted to

to her Majesty, it was easy to prevent those two Orders from concurring with the third in any Motion that should be made against the Inclination of the Court ; but the People grumbling and murmuring at a strange rate, they were obliged to have great regard for their Representatives. Several Pamphlets came out at that time against the Queen, the House of *Guise*, the *Ministers of State*, the *Comptrollers and Intendants of the Revenue*, and those who were entrusted with the King's Education ; as also against the *Governours of several Cities and Provinces*, against the intollerable Oppressions of some of the sovereign Courts, and lastly, against the double Marriage with *Spain*. The *Jesuits* were not spared in those Pamphlets, for they were accused of having been concerned in the tragical death of the two last Kings, and reproached with the Doctrine of the Writers of their Society , who maintain that it is lawful for private Persons to conspire against the Life of their Sovereign. Perhaps the Authors of these Pamphlets carried things too far ; but notwithstanding the Court took all possible care to confute their writings, by the help of mercenary Pens, who swarm in all Countries and Times ; yet their wretched Answers were not able to pacifie the Minds of the People, who were grown already but too much heared. The Prince of *Condé* and his Party inflamed them

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under hand, promising to stand by them, and joyn with them for obtaining the relief they desired.

These Difficulties very much embarrassed the Cabinet-Council of Queen Mary of Medicis; for it was not thought fit to reject with Scorn, the Petitions of the People, for fear of exasperating them too much, and obliging them thereby, to take some violent Resolutions. This was often debated; but at last they could find no better Expedient, than to sow Divisions between the three Houses, and by that means to render that Assembly as Tumultuous as possible. To compass this their Design, they resolved that the Clergy and Nobility should prepare some Articles of Reformation, and draw up some Regulations, to which they were sure the People would not give their consent; and as they did not question but the *Third State* would offer on their part some Proposals, which the Clergy and Nobility would by no means agree to, the Ministers wisely concluded, that the three Orders being thus divided, would be unable to come to any unanimous Resolution, because of their different Interests, and so that they would grow weary, and that the Court should have thereby a fair pretence to turn them off, and deceive the People with an uncertain and general promise of Reformation. The Ministers carryed on their Intreagues with so much Dexterity, that things happened just as they designed they should.

The

The Court began with the Nobility, and
ingaged them to desire the Suppression of ^{1614.} *Disputes be-*
the Duty called *Paulette*, which makes *tween the three*
all Offices in Courts of Justice, and the *Orders, about*
Finances or Revenues, Hereditary upon *Articles of*
paying a certain Summ every year to the *Reformation,*
King. This was a very good Plot; for *which each*
the House of the *Third State* consisting of *proposed to de-*
King.

Magistrates, and Officers of the *Finances*,
nothing was like to be more unacceptable unto them, than such a Propofal,
which by ſuppreſſing the *Paulette*, took
likewife away from them in a manner,
their Places and Imploymets, which they
had already bought at a very great price, and
generally ſpeaking, are the best part of the
Estate the Gentlemen of the *Long Robe*
have to leave to their Children. Howevr,
as the Sale of Offices, and their
being Hereditary, were looked upon as
two great Disorders, that were now ex-
claimed againſt; the *Third State* durſt not
openly refufe to concur with the Clergy
and Nobility in the Reformation there-
of; and the latter joyned another Article
with the former, that was leſs conſiderable;
but equally concern'd them both to have
remedied. Now to be revenged on these
for proposing ſuch a thing, as tended to
the Ruin of the *Third State*, but took no-
thing away from the two others; they
resolved to make Propofals of their own,
by way of Reprizal, as hard upon the
Nobility and the Clergy, as the Suppre-
ſion of the *Paulette* or Annual Duty was

1614. upon the People, and this the Court wished for most impatiently.

The Clergy and Nobility having sent Deputies to desire the *Third State* to concur with them for demanding, the taking off of this Duty, they were somewhat at a loss, how to excuse themselves from it; but seeing their Order had made such a mighty noise for Reformation, they thought it would be very unbecoming them to refuse their consent to the Suppression of that which had been so loudly cryed out against. Therefore they agreed to it, without any more ado; But at the same time, desired that the Clergy and Nobility would likewise concur with them, for demanding two other things, as necessary as the former, which were, the lessening of the Taxes, and Suppressing of innumerable Pensions which the King paid without any necessity. *The Excessive Augmentation of the Taxes, said the Third State, is a considerable a Grievance, as the Sale and Inheritance of Offices; Let them be suppressed both, and we will agree to it with all our Hearts.* There is only one thing to be further observed; By reforming these two Disorders, the Revenues of the King will fall very considerably, and it will not be reasonable, to desire his Majesty to deprive himself in favour of his People with one part of his Revenue, without giving him at the same time, as fair a pretence for retrenching his Expences. *The Pensions which the King gives to so many Persons, are certainly ver-*

ry unnecessary, and very burthen som to the 1614 People, who must pay the Money required for those Gratuities; therefore the best expedient that can be found, is to desire his Majesty to suppress all the Pensions, which he gives to such as do not attend his Service, though they are upon the Establishment of his Household. The Third State could never find a better way to Retali ate on the Nobility, than by this Additional tacking Clause to their Bill: For the Income of their Land, their Governments, and other Military Commands being not sufficient to maintain them in their Luxury, and high way of Living, most of 'em depending upon the Bounties of the King, who by this means keeps them under a kind of absolute Slavery, and an entire obedience to his Will. This Reformation being as plausible as the suppressing of the Paulette, the Nobility durst not openly reject the Proposals of the Third State; but they endeavoured to put it off. We must not, said they, desire too many things at once. The Third State do's not refuse to concur with us, but they seek only to perplex business, and render it more intricate and difficult, to prevent the Reformation of a Grievance which is greatly Advantageous, both to the Magistrates and Officers of the Finances. As many Books were published about the Sale and Inheritance of Places; we think fit to say something of the Original of these two Abuses in France, and the rather, because

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it seems necessary, for having a clear Notion of the Proposals that were then on foot in the Assembly of the States General.

*An account
of the Origina-
l of the Sale
of Places in
France.*

Before the Reign of *Hugh Capet*, the Counts or Earls Administred Justice in the Cities, and the King used to send Commissioners into the several Provinces of their Kingdom, to hear the Complaints of his People, and inquire whether the Counts discharged their Duty; but those Counts, who were at first but Governors and Officers of Justice, having set up for so many petty Sovereigns, in the Declension of the House of *Charlemain*, they appointed inferior Officers under them, to execute their Places, who in different Provinces, had different Names given them; such as *Visecounts*, *Senechals*, *Bailiffs*, *Provosts*, *Viguiers*, &c. under the Third Race of the Kings of France. And these too had Lieutenants under them, in most places of their Jurisdiction, whose Conduct they had a right to inspect; but the French having been a long time a Military Nation, their Judges and Magistrates were Gentlemen of the Sword, who knew nothing of the *Digests* or *Codes* of *Justinian*. Law-Suits were decided by the Custom of the Country, and the King's Ordinances, so that no great matter of Learning was requisite to capacitate these Men to execute the Office of a Judge; but the Establishment of publick Schools, where Men were bred up in the Roman and Canon Law, having

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having introduced Wrangling and Petty-fogging, that cursed and hellish Art of perplexing the plainest Causes, the Baillifs and Seneschals were then obliged to choose Gentlemen of the Long Robe, for their Lieutenants, and to content themselves with some marks of Honour, and the Priviledge of commanding the Nobility, when the King thought fit to summon them, which is called in France the *Ban*, and the *Arriereban*.

The Predecessors of St. Lewis, had already begun to sell Places of Judicature; but that good Prince, thought it was a Trade unbecoming the Majesty of a Sovereign, which in all probability would be a great abuse. But his Sons little regarding the good Advice and Example of their Father, exposed those Offices to publick Sale, and gave them to the highest bidder. Some indeed more scrupulous than the others, gave those Offices only in Custody and Trust, by simple Commissions, reserving to themselves a power of recalling them, whenever they pleas'd; but shortly after it was found more beneficial, to grant them for Life, so that they could not Escheat, but upon Death, or a voluntary Resignation, or else upon account of some great Crimes, which rendered those Officers unworthy of their places, and this was called a *Forfeiture*. Charles V. who has been graced with the Surname of *Wise*, farmed the Revenue of the publick Offices, more barefacedly than any

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any other, on pretence that the long and cruel Wars with the *English*, having obliged the Crown to contract great Debts, they could not be discharged, but by extraordinary Ways and Methods.

Recherches
de Paquier
l. 4. ch. 16.

The number of the Offices of Judicature and Finances, increased very considerably, by the Erection of a Sedentary Parliament, Chamber of Accompts, and other Sovereign and Subaltern Courts; but these were not sold for one good while, though the manner of disposing of 'em, has been very different under several Reigns. Sometimes the Parliament elected their own Members; but more commonly, the King's filled the Vacancies, and left the Parliament only a power to examine those whom the King had so nominated, and to well inform themselves of their Birth, Morals, and Learning. At other times, the Parliament recommended three Persons to the King, for him to choose whom he pleased. And the variation has been no less in the Subaltern Courts, for we find that they have had for some time, the Nomination of the Lieutenants of the Bailiffs and Seneschals, and that the Kings have at other times disposed of those Places. They have also as well as the Parliaments, recommended three Persons upon every Vacancy, out of which one was chosen, that is, such as had the greatest interest at Court; and but very seldom such as had the greatest Merit. Places having been disposed of in such different manners,

ners, for so long a time, 'tis impossible
but there must have been great Abuses in
France upon this account. 1614.

The good Administration of Justice and the Publick Money's, is absolutely necessary for every well ordered Government; and such Kingdoms which have not certain and inviolable Laws concerning these two, must at last fall into such Distractions and Disorders, as will admit afterwards of no Remedy; and so our Kings not having been restrain'd by any Laws, have disposed of Places of Judicature, according to their own pleasure, and made a shameful Trade thereof. The best Princes we have had, have run into this Mistake; for we find that *Lewis XII.* exposed them to Sale under false but specious pretences of raising Money to carry on the War, without laying new Taxes upon his People. 'Tis true, he became at last sensible of his Error; but yet did not restore the ancient Way of Election; but ordered that the Parliaments should make an inquiry into the Lives and Conversations of such Persons, whom he should name to any place in the Sovereign Courts; but as for the Subaltern, they should recommend unto him three Persons for every place, out of which he should choose one.

In the Reign of *Francis I.* they found out a new Trick of Law to elude and defeat the Laws that were made by *Charles VII.* which expressly forbud the selling of Offices.

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Offices. Those Orders and Prohibitions, said the Courtiers of those days, are as the ancient Roman Laws, which punished such who bought the Suffrages or Favours of private Persons in order to obtain a Place ; but it was lawful to promise, and make a Present to the Republick. Thus private Persons may not buy and sell among themselves, Places of Judicature ; but nothing ought to binder the Prince from bestowing places on whom he pleases, on consideration of a Sum of Money for supplying the urgent necessities of the State. This ridiculous distinction was so much approved of at Court, that Francis I. and Henry II. sold publickly all manner of Offices, and erected a great many new ones, to get themselves Money. Francis ordered also, that those who already had bought places, might sell them to others, which was done by way of Resignation, for a certain Sum, and if the Seller lived 40 Days after he had so Resigned, the Buyer was then in Possession of his Employment. The States General then Assembled at Orleans, endeavoured to apply some remedy to this Disorder, and Charles IX. made a very good Ordinance thereupon, if it had been as well observed ; but Henry the III. carryed these Abuses further than all his Predecessors. The most infamous part of that Trade, was, that when the Buyer was received into his Office in Parliament, or in any other Court, he took an Oath according to the ancient Custom, that he had

had given nothing directly nor indirectly, to the Person who had resigned his Office, though the contrary thereof was notoriously known. What Justice then could be expected from the Piety and Religion of such Magistrates, who enter'd their Office with a Solemn Perjury ?

Places being thus publickly bought and sold, there remain'd nothing but to make them Hereditary ; and this was done by Henry the IV. more covetous still than the *Valois*, to whom he Succeeded. The Author of a Book supposed to be written by a famous Minister of State, owns that Irregularities in Courts of Justice grew to the utmost Excels, since that time, and that the Sale and Inheritance of places is *The Political Testament of Cardinal de Richelieu, ch. 1. Sect. 1.* contrary to Reason, and all the Constitutions of Law; but I wonder that after such a formal Confession, he should maintain, that this strange Abuse is still more tolerable, than that which must needs arise, if Kings dispos'd of places at their own pleasure. If it were so, said he, Favour and Interest at Court, would dispose of all ; and some great Families whose Riches and Authority might be suspected, would by means of those places, Augment the Number of their Creatures. Nothing contributed so much to make the Duke of Guise formidable to Henry III. as the Disposal of Places, which he always gave to his own Friends and Dependants ; and I have heard from the Duke of Sully, that this Consideration was the chief Motive which induced Henry IV. to Establish

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blish the Pauerte or yearly Duty ; for that great Prince did not aim so much at the increasing of his own Revenue as he thought of preventing an inconveniency which had so much disturbed his Predecessor ; and notwithstanding the Interest of his royal Treasure made a great impression upon him, yet Reason of State had more the Ascendant on this occasion. Perhaps the Duke of Sully has in this manner excused a new Abuse, which had been introduced by his own Advice. But yet any Man of Sense and common justice must believe, that it was more easy to have prevented that Inconveniency which Henry IV. was afraid of, than to secure him from those several others which have proceeded from the sale and inheritance of Places. But we are now to examine what was that Reason of State mentioned by the Duke of Sully.

*Chron. Abrid.
of Mezerai in
the Life of
Henry IV,
1604.*

This Word, *Reason of State*, a Mysterious Expression, which the Politicians of this Age have always ready in their Mouths, do's properly speaking, signify nothing else but the private Interest of the Prince, without any regard to the good of the People ; and so want of Money for maintaining vast Armies, the better to oppres the Liberties of the Subject, and *Reason of State* are the very same thing in the Language of a Disciple of Machiavel. Sully perceiving that his Master got nothing by Places of Judicature, but upon Vacancies which fell

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by the Death of Officers who had not sign'd, or who had not had time to do it, and that the King was oftentimes obliged to gratifie his hungry Courtiers with them, who were always teasing him for some or other of them, that so they might sell them again, and put the Money in their own Pockets : I say, *Sully* upon this contrived an Expedient to free *Henry IV.* from these Importunities, which brought in afterward a world of Money to the Coffers of that covetous Prince and his Successors. The Expedient was this, To continue those places of Judicature and Finances unto the Widows and Heirs of such as had been in possession of them, upon paying every Year the sixtieth Penny of the Price the Offices should be valued at ; but if default was made of that yearly Payment, the Offices then returned to the King's disposal upon the death of the Possessors. This was called the *Annual Duty*, but the People called it *Paulette*, from *Paulet* the Name of the first Farmer of that Tax. This Favour granted by *Henry the IV.* to the Magistrates of his Kingdom, was to last but nine Years, but it hath been ever since renewed and continued for the same term of Years. The *Paulette* being created in the beginning of the Year 1605. the ninth year was to expire the end of the Year 1614. and thus you have the Reason why the States General desired it might be entirely abolish'd.

All

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All the World easily foresaw that the Declaration of *Henry IV.* would inevitably establish the sale of Offices for ever, and that instead of reducing them to their ancient number, this would be an inducement to his Successors to create new ones, whenever they should have occasion for Money ; and therefore so long as the Parliaments of *France* had any Zeal for the Good of their Country, they refused to register such Declarations.

'Tis true, their generous Opposition lasted but a little while, for Self-Interest always has been, and eternally will be the most irreconcileable Enemy to the good and welfare of the Publick ; and that soon prevailed with them. Being dazzled by the glaring Representations that were made them, that this new Declaration was calculated meerly for their Meridian, and therefore they had no reason to oppose that, which was of so great advantage to their Families ; for it enabled their Children to sell their deceased Fathers Places, if they had no mind to enjoy them themselves. Caught with this gilded Bait, these weak Magistrates preferr'd the Fortune of their Families to the Safety and Weal of the Government of the State. *Bellievre*, Chancellor of *France*, who would have had the World to think that he regulated himself by the Model of those great Men, whose disinterested Integrity is so much commended by the Ancients, for some time

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time withheld that Declaration, the Consequences of which he foresaw would be pernicious and fatal. But his Virtue was not proof enough against the Threats of having the Seals taken from him. His base compliance avail'd him not long however ; for *Silleri* found means to have them from him in a short time after ; and thus it happens very often, that Magistrates having first betrayed their Consciences and the trust reposed in them, have the mortification to lose their places, which they might have quitted out of a Generosity, that would have gained them an immortal Honour.

If the Chancellor *De Bellievre* is to be blamed for having not Courage sufficient to oppose to the last the Declaration of *Henry IV.* concerning the *An-*
Division increases in the Assembly of the States General.
nual Duty, the Magistrates and other Gentlemen who composed the House of the *Third State* in the Assembly of the States General, deserve a more severe Reprehension, for having wanted both Courage and Justice, when they were moved to concur with the two other States of the Kingdom, in suppressing a Grievance which had been introduced but nine years before. It was in vain for them to protest, that they did not deny joyning with the Nobility and Clergy, but consented voluntarily that the Buying and Selling of Offices should be suppress'd, as being the very Root of the

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the Evil : For the World look'd upon this last condition, tho' never so just in it self, as an Artifice to render the taking off the *Annual Duty* more difficult. The sale and inheritance of Places bringing such vast Sums of Money into the King's Coffers, there was no likelihood that the Court would ever consent to the taking away of these two things at once ; nor were the Intentions of the Nobility any more sincere and disengaged from Self-Interest, than those of the *Third State*, when they refused to concur to the taking off the *Pensions* given by the King, which amounted to very exorbitant Sums. The Noblemen at Court so dextrous in improving the Timidity and Weakness of *Mary of Medicis* to their own advantage, had during the King's Minority, extorted great Pensions, not only for themselves, but also for their Relations and Creatures, tho' the latter had done no service to the Crown. The Clergy made a shew as if they would interpose their Mediation between the Nobility and the People, and endeavour their Reconciliation ; but their good Offices were not sincere ; for the chief amongst them were wholly devoted to the Court, and nothing was transacted in their House, but what had first been agreed upon by the Cardinals, and the Ministers of the Queen, who ruled all the Debates of the Clergy just as her Majesty pleased.

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The *Third State* still persisting in their Resolution, not to concur with the two other Houses about the taking off the *Annual Duty*, unless they would likewise concur with them in demanding the abatement of the *Tailles*, and the taking away the Pensions, the Deputies of the Clergy and Nobility Petitioned the King, and desired that his Majesty would supersede the said *Annual Duty*, till the States-General had more strictly inquired into that Affair, and to Revoke certain Taxes relating to *Salt*, from which the Clergy and Nobility pretended to be free. The King gave them very fair Words, and it was intimated unto them, that he wished the three Houses would draw up with all speed, the general Account of their Grievances and Demands, and that they would avoid making particular Proposals, which diverted them from the general Affairs they had before them. *It is requisite*, said the Courtiers, *to prevent the murmuring of the People, about the too long Session of the States*; which was as much as to say in plain Terms, that the Court thought of dismissing as soon as ever they could, an Assembly which was so troublosom to them.

The *Third State* following the Steps of the Clergy and Nobility, attended the King with their Addresses, and desired him to Supersede the Levying of the *Tailles*, and paying of Pensions. The Deputies that spoke on this occasion, seemed to

to reflect on the Nobility, who had so great a share in the Profusions of the publick Treasure, by unnecessary Salaries and other Gratifications ; and this was so highly resented by the Nobility , that they resolved to have no further Correspondence with the *Third State*, till they had Satisfaction, which they obtained few days after, the latter having sent some Deputies to excuse the expressions complain'd of.

The Courtiers were exceedingly pleased with these Divisions, looking upon them as a good effect of their Intreagues, and nothing could be more satisfactory to the Ministers, than to see that the three Houses should separately demand different things, without being able to come to an Agreement amongst themselves, on the more material points thereof. This furnished the Court with a favourable pretence, of not granting any of their Demands ; for now they were not at all afraid of a General Dissatisfaction of the three States of the Kingdom. The Nobility who was against the taking away of Pensions, did not concern themselves about the abatement of the *Tailles*: The *Third State* wished for the continuance of the *Annual Duty*, and the Clergy, for nothing else but the publication of the *Council of Trent*, which they strait demanded. They were mighty complaisant to the Nobility, to engage them to concur with them in that Matter, for which

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which the Emissaries of *Rome* labour'd might and main, knowing that the *Third State* would never freely consent thereunto. What a Satisfaction for the Court and Ministers was this? For Things were brought to that pass now, that without redressing any Grievances, but leaving Disorders as they were, they could satisfy all the World. And this was in truth the thing at Heart they aimed at.

And still more and more to perplex and confound the *Third State*, they brought upon the Stage a certain Projector, who offered to find out a way to reimburse the Officers what they had paid for their Places, without any Charge to the Publick, and to reduce them to their ancient number; and so Places had neither been saleable nor hereditary, and the Magistrates would have had no reason to complain. The Project was communicated to the Clergy and Nobility, and the Chancellor of *France* seemed to approve of it: But when afterward it was communicated to the *Third State*, they threw it out as a thing impracticable. The dissembling *Silleri* had the same opinion of it, and only sought by it to embarras or make them let fall the good resolutions which they would otherwise have taken. That vile Slave to the Court came to that Assembly, with intentions very different from those the worthy Chancellor *de L' Hopital* expressed in the States held at *Orleans*, wherein he

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The Clergy desire the Publication of the Council of Trent.

But the Complaisance the Clergy shew-to the Nobility, was not free from Self-Interest, for they were in hopes that the Nobility would shew themselves as complaisant to them, and concur with the Church in addressing to the King for the Publication of the *Council of Trent*, as they had joined with them against the Inclination and Interest of the *Third State*. The Cardinals and other great Prelates were entirely devoted to the Court of *Rome*, and took care to consult more the Pope's Nuntio, than they did the ancient Canons of the Church; Insomuch that *Paul V.* who had so many Proofs of the Submissions of *Queen Mary* during her Regency, flattered himself that at last he should be able to get the *Council of Trent* to be published in *France*, if he could but once so far prevail with the States-General, as to persuade them to desire it. This had been several times attempted by the Court of *Rome*, and the Clergy in the preceding Reigns, but still in vain; yet however they hoped to obtain it in the beginning of this.

Some short time after the conclusion of that Assembly, *Charles du Moulin*, the most famous Civilian in *France*, proved with so much Clearness, that that pretended Council was null, and vicious in all its Parts, contrary to the ancient Canons, and

and prejudicial to the Crown and Liberties of the Church of France, that all the Efforts of the League, the Interest of the Pope, and the Intrigues of the Clergy, could never obtain the publishing of it in the Kingdom. The Cardinals of Medeis and Aldobrandino, Legates of what has not been called the *Holy See* by way of Excellence, but since it hath been commonly fill'd with lewd and scandalous Bishops. These two Legates I say, made pressing Instances on that subject to Henry the IV. in the Name of Pope Clement VIII. but the King put off the Sollicitations of these two Cardinals, with as much dexterity as he could, seeming unwilling to disoblige a Pope, for whom he had all possible Respects. The Assembly of the French Clergy made the same Instances in the Year 1602. But that Prince told his Bishops, that he had sufficiently explained his Thoughts thereupon to the Cardinals of Medeis and Aldobrandino, and exhorted them and the Clergy Francois, to live up according to the Rules prescribed in the said Council and others concerning the Reformation of Manners; but this was not what they desired. Never did any People make so much noise for the Observation of the ancient Canons, and the Decrees of the Council of Trent, as the Bishops of France, and no People have been less careful in observing them. This shews that they are the true Sons of the Church of Rome, which

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deafens the World with such Decrees of Councils as tend to favour her Ambition, while she takes no notice of those which are for the Reformation of Manners, and her unjust Usurpations. The Pope hath all along slighted the best Regulations, or at least shifted off the Meaning of 'em by vain subtleties.

Miron, President of the House of the Third State, intimated as much to René Potier Bishop of Beauvais, who as Deputy of the Clergy, defired the Third State to concur with them for having the Council of Trent published, with this Restriction, *Without any Prejudice to the Rights of his Majesty, the Liberties of the Gallican Church, and the Privileges of Chapters, Monasteries, and Commonalties.* The Speech the Bishop made on this occasion was but for the most part a Repetition of the Arguments that had been used long ago on that Subject; But he added some Reasons of his own, which deserve to be taken notice of. France having been so long a Catholick Kingdom, would you, Gentlemen, separate your selves from the Church, and resist the Voice of the Holy Ghost, in neglecting to make use of the Remedy that will cure the Disorders of Religion? This wholesome Remedy you find in the Council of Trent, a Council perfect in all its Parts, held by the successors of those who have composed the ancient Synods, and as lawful as any other universal Council. God has explained himself by the

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Organs of that holy Assembly with as much certainty as he did of old on the Mercy Seat, which the Cherubims covered with their Wings. You cannot refuse these Oracles, unless you will at the same time renounce the Christian Faith. 'Tis difficult to relate such things without a just Indignation; and sure the Prelates of France think that their Camail and Rochet give them the Priviledge to advance the greatest Impertinencies with gravity. 'Tis true, sensible Men laughed at them; but these Reverendissimos impose upon the common People, and that is what they aim at. Did the Bishop of Beauvais believe that the President Miron and the other Members of the States had so soon forgot that France had been very little concerned in the Transactions of the Council of Trent in the Reign of Francis the I. that she entred a Protestation against the Decisions of that Assembly under Henry II. and that the Ambassadors of Charles IX. did publickly declare that there was no manner of Liberty in that Council; and that it was a Body without a Soul; a Machine which the Court of Rome moved as they pleased. No sure, the Bishop knew very well that the memory of these things was yet too fresh, to be so soon forgotten by the Gentlemen of the Third State: How then could he have the confidence to offer in the Name of the Clergy, to have a Conference with the Parliament about that Council, and

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to prove to them that the Decrees of that Assembly were no less authentick and worthy of respect than those of the Nicene Council? This will seem surprizing to those that are Strangers to the Maxims of the Clergy; but not to such who know that their constant Practice is, and has been all along to suppose that they are in the right, and that the People ought to take their words for it: They have found by experience, that by repeating with gravity the same things over and over again, they have dazzled the ignorant People with their great and pompous Words, which rattle, but signify nothing.

But this Artifice did not take with the Third State at this time. For Miron avoiding all manner of Questions concerning the Authority of the Council of Trent, for fear of being cried out upon for a rank Huguenot, if he had plainly spoke his own Thoughts of it; answered the Deputies of the Clergy in general Terms; that the publishing of the Council of Trent having been suspended for threescore Years, it was not very proper to think then on it. How many Councils have there been, which we have never published in France? and yet, said Miron, we observe the good Regulations made by them. The Gentlemen of the Clergy may renounce the plurality of Livings, and reform the other Abuses condemned by the Council, we shall be most edified by it, and their sincere submission to its just Ordinances, will be

*The Answer
of the Third
State about
publishing the
Council.*

be a tacite acceptance thereof; their good Example in this Case, will be as advantageous to the Council of Trent, as a formal publication of it. The House of the Third State, return their thanks to the Clergy, for the zeal they shew to propagate the Catholic Religion, and will endeavour to second their good Intentions.

The President could never have returned a better answer to the Clergy who desir'd the publishing of the Council of Trent only, for strengthening their Authority, and introduce the Inquisition in France.

Marquemont Archbishop of Lyons, had a better success in the House of the Nobility, though they shewed at first a great averness to consent to what was desir'd of 'em, that Proposal having always met with insuperable Difficulties, which made them afraid that the Decrees of that Council, would be too prejudicial to the King's Authority, and the good of the State: However, they yielded at last for the Cardinals, Bishops, and other Prelates being for the most part of the body of the Nobility, labour'd so very hard with their Friends and Relations, that they consented to close with the Clergy, provided they would clear up some difficulties which at present they could not get over. And to that end, the Baron Du Pont S. Pierre, and five other Deputies of the Nobility, went to propose them to the Chamber of the Clergy. The Cardinal de La

*The Nobility
join with the
clergy.*

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Rochefoucault, who was in the Chair when those Deputies came into the House, made a long Harangue in fustian Rhetorick, with which these good Gentlemen were so dazzled, that they agreed to concur with the Clergy, for having the Council of Trent published. The second Order of the Kingdom being thus gained, the Bishop of Beauvais, and *Anthony de Caux*, Coadjutor to the Bishop of Condom, were sent to persuade the Third State to joyn with them; but these being clearer sighted, and freer from Self-Interest than the Nobility, persisted in their former Resolution.

Affairs relat.
ing to the
University of
Paris, in the
Assembly of
the States-
General.]
Mercure
Francois
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The four Faculties of the University of Paris, were in as great a Fermentation, as the Three Chambers of the States-General; for that Body which was formerly much more powerful and considerable than it is at this time, claimed a Right to sit and Vote in the House of the Clergy, and founded their pretensions upon some Presidents. They presented a Petition to the King's Council, praying to be continued in the possession of their Priviledge; and having obtained an Order thereupon, caused the same to be signified unto the States-General, who were mightily shock'd at a procedure so unusual, and which shewed so little of Respect Dr. *Fayet* Curate of St. Paul at Paris, one of the Deputies of the City to the Assembly of the States, made on the first of December, a long Speech to the Clergy, to excuse his

his Brethren of the University. Men said 1614.
he, who converse little in the World,
and who chiefly are devoted to their Books
and Studies, may easily be wanting through
mistake in some Formalities of Respect
and just Decorum; but those Faults they
hope will be past by. They had no o-
ther Design, but to preserve their Rights,
and they were strangers to the Formali-
ties that were to be observed with the
Assembly of the States, and particularly
with the Ecclesiastical Chamber, into
which they desire to be admitted, accord-
ing to their ancient Priviledges. Fayer
having vindicated their Right as much as
he could, most humbly besought the Cler-
gy to consent, that the University might
enjoy the Prerogatives they were in pos-
session of. The Cardinal *de Sourdis*, who
was then Chairman, exceedingly blam'd
the University for having caused Citations
to be signify'd to the States-General, in-
stead of Petitioning them, and repre-
senting their Right in a respectful man-
ner. However, said he, We are willing
to pass by the irregularity of that pro-
ceeding; for the Clergy wishes that the
University, whose Reputation has been cer-
tainly very great, may recover their anci-
ent Lustre. We shall always be ready to
contribute the utmost we can to it, with
all our Hearts; But as to what they now
desire, the House will advise upon it, when
they shall have presented their Petition to
them. Notwithstanding this fine Com-
pliment

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pliment, the Clergy opposed with all their Might, the pretensions of the University, in so much that the King's Council ordered only, that they should draw up their Case containing their Complaints and Demands, and that it should be communicated to the House of the Clergy for them to peruse and examine it.

*The University
cannot agree
amongst them-
selves about
the Writing to
be presented to
the Assembly
of the States.*

The University met about the penning of their Case, but the Faculties could never agree among themselves about what they should ask. The Faculties of Arts shewed wonderous zeal for the asserting the Sovereign Independent Authority of the King in Temporal things, for the defence of the Liberty of the Church of France, and for condemning the new Opinions of the Jesuits, the Authors of which they resolv'd to disgrace: But the other Faculties would not joyn with them in it. That of Divinity, wherein the Popes Party most prevailed, ever since the Injustice done to honest Richer, protest'd by a solemn Act, that they would not be any ways concern'd in the Demands proposed by the Faculty of Arts, but that they might draw up their own Demands as they pleased. The Faculties of Phyick and Law entred no Protestation; but declar'd they would not approve by any means, what the Faculty of Arts designed to do. The latter was not very much unit'd neither amongst themselves; but notwithstanding all those Oppositions, the Rector of the University with the Assistance

stance of such Members of the Faculty of Arts which were best affected, drew up a Writing with this Title; *Cabier or a general Account of the Remonstrances which the University of Paris has drawn up to be presented to the King our Sovereign Lord, in the General Assembly of the three Orders of his Kingdom, which is now holden at Paris, examined and approved of by the Rectors, Deans and Doctors of the Faculties, and by the Proctors of Nations in a solemn Assembly of the said University, held at the Mathurines.* This Cabier occasioned great Disputes, and some offer'd to maintain, that it was the work of some private Men without any Commission or Authority. Several Protestations, and other formal Deeds were enter'd against it, insomuch that it is very difficult to unravel that Intrigue; but nor to discover the true reason of the noise they made against that Writing. The Compilers thereof had inserted therein the ancient Doctrine of the University of Paris, concerning the Temporal Authority of Princes, and the spiritual Power of the Church; and it was desired, that all the Professors should be commanded to conform themselves to that Doctrine, and to reject the contrary Opinions. The University petitioned the King in one of their Articles, that for preventing the ill effects of that pernicious Doctrine, which had been for some years past spread in France, against Sovereign Powers establish-

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ed by God, his Majesty would be pleased to order; That all Officers and others in the Universities, General and Provincial of Mendicants, and other Orders, with all Guardians, Rectors, Prefects, and Priors of the same, all Superiors of Convents, Heads of Colleges and Congregations, either Secular or Regular, should be obliged within a Month after their Admission into their Employments, to take the Oath of Fidelity before such Persons, as his Majesty should think fit, and in such Terms as should be judged most expedient, declaring thereby, that they do protest; That in Temporal things the King is Supream in his Dominions, and cannot be deposed, nor his Subjects absolved from their Oath, nor dispensed with their Allegiance due unto him, as the Author of some pernicious Writings have asserted; That they detect all contrary Opinions, promising to the King such obedience as is due from a Subject to his Natural Prince; and to keep, observe, Preach and Teach both in publick and private, and cause to be kept, observed, preached and taught, the Obedience and Subjection which was due to his Majesty, from them. They desired by another Article, that a certain number of Doctors in Divinity might be appointed by his Majesty, to draw up a Catalogue of all Heretical Books, and others which contain any erroneous Propositions, as was done in the Reign of Francis the I. and Henry II, and that in this new Catalogue, they should name and specific all the pernicious Books, which had been publish-

ed since that time; as also all other Books 1614.
teaching any Doctrine contrary to that of
the University of Paris, which relate to the
security either of the Life, or State of Kings,
and the Fidelity of their Subjects, as also
what may tend to the subversion of the Li-
berties of the Churches of that Kingdom,
which are founded on the Holy Canons and
Decrees. These two Articles being Dia-
metrically opposite to the favourite Tenets
of the Court of Rome, which are asserted by
the Jesuits, it is no wonder that that in-
treaguing Society, the Emissaries of the
Pope, the Cardinals and Prelates, whose
Ambition makes them Slaves to Rome, and
lastly, those Doctors of the Sorbonne, who
were Pensioners of the Pope, I say, it is
no wonder, that all these used their
utmost efforts, and left no stone unturn'd
to prevent the unanimous concurrence of
the University, for Petitioning for a thing
so contrary to the interest of the Court of
Rome, and what would have brought a pub-
lick mark of Infamy on the most celebra-
ted Authors of the Society.

These great oppositions, however did not discourage Charles Pescheur, the then Rector of the University of Paris, from going the 2d of January, of the following year, to present his writing to the Ecclesiastical Chamber of the States-General. The Rector was received with marks of Distinction, and the Cardinal de La Rochebeaucourt Bishop of Senlis, and Chairman for that Day, told him in general Terms, that

The Rector of the University of Paris presents his Crier to the Ecclesiastical Chamber of the States-General.

that they would take it into their consideration, and that the Prelates of their House, were no less zealous than their Predecessors, for maintaining the University of *Paris* in their Privileges, repeating what the Cardinal *de Sourdis* had told them before, that the Clergy wished to see the University restored to its former Splendor; yet the Rector was hardly withdrawn, but there was a great noise in the House, some running down that Writing, as the effect of a few private Persons, and not concerred by the four Faculties of the University. *Henry de Gondi*, Archbishop of *Paris*, was appointed to examine the Articles contained therein, and to enquire how the same had been drawn up, and report the matter to the House; but that Prelate who had a Cardinal's Cap in his view, which he obtain'd some time after, laid hold of that opportunity, to make his Court to the Pope, and to the Jesuits, and did not care to countenance the noble Intentions of the best part of the University, insomuch, that instead of the Advantages the University expected from their Remoustrances, the Clergy and Nobility, took a Resolution the most contrary to their Intrefts, that could be imagined.

The Clergy and Nobility desire the admission of the Jesuits into the University. Cardinal *du Perron*, the Bishop of *Beauvais*, and some other Clergy-Men appointed by their House, drew up thirteen Articles for the Reformation of the Universities of the Kingdom, which they afterwards

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terwards put into their own *Cahier*, and the Nobility received them in complaisance to the Clergy. In one of these Articles, they desired that the King would be pleased to establish some Jesuits in the University of Paris, provided they would submit to the Laws and Customs thereof; but no sooner was this Resolution known, than a world of Pamphlets flew abroad against those Reverend Fathers. The Author of one of them proposed, that to render the Institution of the Jesuits more useful in *France*, it would be very requisite for them to renounce that Magnificent Title of the *Company of Jesus*, and take upon them the Name of their Founder, as other Religious Orders had done; That they should be all *French-Men* born; that they should not stand upon the Privileges the Popes had granted to them; but should settle themselves upon the same Level, with the rest of the Clergy of the Kingdom; that they should not for the future devote themselves in a peculiar manner to the Pope by their fourth *Vow*; but should take a *Solemn Oath* to own no Power upon Earth whatsoever, either Spiritual or Temporal, which might lawfully and right fully for any Cause, or in any manner whatsoever, directly or indirectly, absolve the French from their Duty of Civil and Politick subjection to their King. But this was not all. They desired farther Conditions no less mortifying to the Jesuits, which revived the memory of some things the Magistrates and the Sena-

Sensible Men had formerly said concerning the danger of such an extraordinary Institution, which under the specious pretence of applying themselves wholly to the Reformation of Manners, the Instruction of Youth, and promoting of what they are pleased to call the *Greater Glory of God*, tended only to dive into the Secrets of Families, to have the absolute Dominion over Consciences, and to form a dreadful Cabal that should be entirely devoted to the Pope in all Kingdoms and States, that were under his Obedience. They desired therefore those Holy Fathers, if they sincerely intended the good of France, that they would abjure and renounce the Doctrines of those Authors of their Company, which justifie the Murder of Princes; that they would submit to the Constitutions and Customs of the University of Paris, and hold and teach according to the fifth Session of the Council of Constance: That the Pope himself is subject to the Commands, Statutes, and Ordinances of all Councils lawfully assembled, in what relates to Faith, the Extirpation of Schisms, and the Reformation of the Church, as well in her Head, as Members.

To conclude this point, these Enemies of the Jesuits requir'd, that they would not so affectedly conceal the principal Maxims of their Institution and Government, to make thereof a powerful Faction; that they would renounce all manner of Trade and Traffick, and not take upon them
hence

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hence forward, to give advice upon cases of Conscience ; and lastly, that they should not make use of so many subtle Tricks and Artifices, to suborn and draw into their Society, Children of Quality, and such in whom they discover'd great compacts of Thought, and the most penetrating Genius. Any other Sociery besides that of the *Jesuits*, would have been upon the reserve, in so delicate a juncture as this, and avoided all occasions which were like to bring them upon the Stage, when so many Wits were warmly engaged against them ; but this Society seems to be persuaded, and perhaps not without good reason, that Men who resolve to advance themselves in the World, must not have so much Discretion and Modesty, and therefore they never value what the World says of 'em, when they have any considerable advantage in view. Thus being sure of the favour of the Court, they lookt only for a plausible pretence, to persuade the King to order, upon the Remonstrances of the Clergy and Nobility, that they should be admitted into the University of Paris. In the mean time they or their Friends took care to publish several studied Apologies in their behalf, wherein they offer'd according to their usual customs to prove, that they had no other adversaries, but such who were either the secret or declared Enemies of the *Catholick Religion*. One *Du Perron* published a Book, wherein he roundly told the World, that the admitting

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admitting of *Jesuits* into the University, was the most effectual way to render it more flourishing than ever ; but that was such a piece of vile and abominable Flattery, that it was soon hissed off the Stage by all disinterested and intelligent Persons.

The Duke of Epernon's busines with the Parliament of Paris.
The Life of the Duke of Epernon. L. VI.
Mercure Francois.
1615.

The Parliament of *Paris*, which during all these Commotions, seemed only to be taken up in doing Justice to private Persons, was not it self free from some Agitation ; as we shall see by and by, when we come to mention their Disputes with the Chamber of the Clergy. But before we enter into the *detail* of what was done in the Assembly of the States-General, we shall take notice of a quarrel they had with the Duke of *Epernon*, which made a great noise in the World at that time. Two Soldiers of the Regiment of Foot-Guards, having fought a Duel within the Jurisdiction of the Abby of *St. Germain des Prez*, one was kill'd on the Spot, and the other taken Prisoner, and both carry'd into the Goal of *St. Germain*. The Baily was called upon, and began to proceed against the Criminals, according to the severity of the King's Orders against Dueling ; but the Duke of *Epernon*, Colonel-General of the French Infantry, who claimed as a Priviledge annexed to his Dignity, the right of judging Sovereignly, together with the Officers of the Regiment, wherein the Guilty were introld, all Criminal Affairs between Soldier and Soldier ; ordered the Provoft of the Foot-Guards,

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Guards to go and demand of the Baily of St. Germain the Prisoner into his Custody, and the Body of the deceased; but he refused it, and maintained that the cognizance of that matter was within his Jurisdiction. Now indeed *Epernon* should accord ing to Law have complained to the King, and obtained a Prohibition to the Baily, from proceeding any further against the Soldiers, and to deliver the Prisoner to his natural Judge. But the Temper of the Duke was too proud and haughty to bear with any Contradiction; to submit unto the usual Formalities of Justice ap peared unto him a sort of Baseness, unworthy of a Man who thought himself no Inferior to the Princes of the Blood; therefore he ordered two Companies of Guards to repair to the Goal, and take thence by Force the Prisoner and the Body of the deceased, in case the Baily refused to deliver them of his own accord. They went thither accordingly, and the Magistrate still persisting in his former re solution, they immediately broke open the Prison Door, and carried away their Com rade, and the Corps of the other, to the Place appointed by the Duke.

The Baily of St. Germain complaining thereof to the Parliament, they were all in a Flame, and so incensed at that violence and contempt of the King's Authori ty, that they issued out Warrants to seize the Lieutenant of the Foot-Guards, who had put in execution the Orders of his

Colonel, and cited the Duke to appear in Person before them ; which Citation he obeyed rather to have an opportunity to affront the Parliament, than for any deference to their Orders. On the 19 of November 1614. He came to the Court, attended by five or six hundred Gentlemen, and followed by a great number of Cadets in the Guards, all booted and spurr'd, and as he was coming in, *Let us go*, said he, in a proud and scornful way, *Let us go and answer the personal citation the Parliament has decreed against us.* The Appearance of the Duke in such a manner, put the Parliament into no small consternation ; for the Court, Galleries, and Hall of the Palace were full of armed Men, which obliged them to break up ; but as they went out, some young rash Officers belonging to the Retinue of the Duke, crowded in with the *Hussiers*, Attorneys and Advocates, and with their Spurs tore their Gowns to Rags. The Parliament did not question, but *Epernon* was come with a premeditated Design to affront them, and having taken that matter into their serious Consideration, it was at last resolved that they should make no Complaints to the King, but adjourn their Meetings, and give over their administration of Justice, till they had received a publick and solemn Satisfaction from the Duke.

This new Accident put Queen *Mary de Medicis* into a great plunge ; for Affairs

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fairs grew daily more intricate and perplexed at Court, and in the Assembly of the States-General. The Prince of Conde and the other Malecontents caball'd, with all their might to strengthen their Party, and cross the Designs of the Queen. The Duke of Epernon knew this very well; but being persuaded that they had need of him at Court, he was more proud and haughty than ever, so that the Queen did not know how to prevail with him, to give a reasonable Satisfaction to the Parliament. However the Court was as careful to avoid giving offence to that illustrious Body, and to the *Third State*, and therefore they laboured very hard to procure a due Satisfaction to the Parliament without displeasing the Duke, whose Interest the Queen wanted to make head against the Prince of Conde. The Affront offered to the first Tribunal of the Kingdom, was of too dangerous a Consequence for the King's Authority, as well as the Honour of Magistrates, to suffer a Cause of this Nature to pass, at least without some seeming Punishment; therefore after several Negotiations with the Parliament, and the Duke, it was agreed at last, that the King should send a *Letter of Cache* to the Parliament, that is, a Command in Writing to supersede the Informations that were began above what had happened in the Prison of St. Germain, and in the Palace: That the Duke of Epernon should go to the Parliament House, and there having

having taken his Place as Duke and Peer of the Kingdom, he should make his Excuse to the Parliament; that the Prisoner should be remanded to the Prison from whence he had been taken; and lastly, that the King should signify his Approbation of what the Parliament had done in breaking off their Session, till due reparation had been made for the Affront offered to the Supreme Authority. The Duke of *Epernon* was so very proud, that he could not comply with the Words, *Excuse* and *Satisfaction*, and so took care to avoid making use of 'em in the Speech he made to the great Chamber; tho' he was forced to hear those Words repeated: Happy was he that he had the good Fortune to escape appearing there as a Suppliant and Criminal. The Prince of *Conde*, who by no means loved *Epernon*, was there when the Duke came, and no doubt but he designed to mortifie his Pride by his Presence.

Lettres &
Memoires de
M. Du Plessis
1614.

On the 24 of November the Duke of *Ventadour* came to the Great Chamber about seven in the Morning, and told them from the King, that his Majesty approved of what the Parliament had done, and would more fully acknowledge the same, and that the Duke of *Epernon* would not be long before he came to make his *Excuses* and *Satisfaction*. The Prince of *Conde* came in soon after, and then within a little time the Duke of *Epernon* attended by the Duke de *Bellegarde*, Grand Ecuier

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*Ecuier de France, (*Master of the Horse 1614.
to the King,) and a great number of Gentlemen.* Epernon made a short, but ill-manner'd Speech to them, wherein he boasted of his past Services to the Crown, and after he had protested that he was come some days before to the Parliament, to clear himself, and justify his Conduct to them. he said that he understood he was charged with two things; first, for having taken by Violence a Criminal out of the Prison of St. Germain, and in the next place with having a Design to affront the Parliament in coming to the Palace with a great number of armed Men. The first, said he, I leave to the Decision of the King. And as to the second, if you have conceived any ill Opinion of it, I most humbly desire you to alter it. If any one finds my Style too harsh for Ears so nice and learn'd as yours, I beseech you Gentlemen to excuse a poor Captain of Foot, who has more applied himself to do well, than to speak well.

As there was in his Speech more of Irony and Vanity, than Sense and Solidity; The first President, Verdun answered it with Gravity, and in a way that was fit to humble the Pride of a Man who abused his Trust; because he knew the Court wanted him at that time of Faction and Cabal. Since the King hath been pleased to pardon you, said the President, and to command us to receive your Excuses and Satisfaction, the Court puts a favourable Construction

on

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on on what an Officer of the Crown of your Age and Merit has done in the Suburbs of St. Germain, and in the Palace. In compliance to the positive Orders of his Majesty, the Court receives your Excuses and Satisfaction, and will remember your Services. We hope that you and your Heirs will henceforth obey the Laws and Justice of the Realm; and 'tis upon that Consideration, that the Courts forgets what hath happened in this Affair of yours. But oh! What a difference there is between the Noblemen of that time, and those who live in the Reign of Lewis XIV. The Humiliation of these latter would certainly deserve Pity and Compassion, had they not brought that Contempt upon themselves by their unseasonable Arrogance, and ill-concerted Enterprizes. The French seem uncapable of taking the just Middle-way. For whenever they have nothing to be afraid of, they then grow proud and insolent, and the Noblemen trample under foot all Law and Justice: But if these Men meet with a Prince, or but a Minister that is powerful and imperious, then they run into the other Extream, and creep like Worms on their Bellies. Those who during the Minority carryed it as if they would make all to stand in awe of them, in order to be courted by the Government, have been the very first that have submitted to the Yoke, so soon as ever the King or his Ministers have spoken with an Air of Authority. But let us give the

Duke

Duke of *Epernon* his due : He preserved all along his Pride and Stateliness, and was almost the only Lord, who did not cringe to the Cardinal of *Richelieu*, notwithstanding the many Affronts and Indignities that were put upon himself and his Family.

The Court seemed very much pleased with the Compliance of the Clergy and Nobility, in the Assembly of the States-General ; for besides what they had openly done to defeat the Designs of the *Third State*, they drew up on the twelfth of December an Article to desire of the King the Conclusion of his Marriage with the *Infanta*, and that of his Sister with the Prince of Spain. They told his Majesty therein, with as much falsehood as baseness, that all true Frenchmen commended that Resolution, and most passionately longed to see the happy effect of it, and were in hopes that so good a Project would contribute very much to the Advantage of the Catholick Religion, the strengthening of the Peace between the two Crowns, and in short to the perfect Union of Christendom. Nothing could be more acceptable to Queen *Mary de Medicis*, than this luscious Flattery ; but the Joy she received thereupon, was mingled with some Alloy of Bitternels. For some few Days before a Motion was made in the House of the Nobility, to desire the King to erect a Court of Justice consisting of some Persons of the three

*Proposals for
erecting a
Chamber of
Justice to en-
quire into the
Administra-
tion of Finan-
ces.*

*Mercure
Francois
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States of the Kingdom, to enquire into the ill Administration of the publick Revenue, and the two other Houses concurred with the Nobility in that Proposal. The Adherents to, and Friends of the Prince of Conde, had dexterously brought this Matter into the House of the Nobility, as the most effectual Means to discover to the Publick the ill Administration of the Queen during her Regency; for this was, tho' somewhat indirectly, as much as to call her to an Account for the Moneys the late King had left in the *Bastille*. The Proposal was so specious, and appeared so popular, as well as useful to the Publick, that the Nobility being ashamed they had done nothing all this while for the Ease of the Subject, durst not venture to reject it. The Nobility's Envyng of the Farmers, and other Managers of the Revenue, was on the other Hand a very great Motive to induce them to accept the Proposition. For the Latter commonly lay out the Money they get, in purchasing the chiefest Dignities in the Courts of Justice, and the noblest Mannors and Lordships in the Kingdom; insomuch that Parliaments are now filled with the Sons of those infamous Blood-suckers of the People, who cover the baseness and shame of their Birth, under the name of the most considerable Fiefs which were formerly possessed by the most ancient Nobility of the Kingdom.

The

The Clergy still more Slaves to the Court than the Nobility, had at first some Scruples about this Proposal; and started some difficulties against their concurring with it. The Cardinal d'Orléans, who was Chair-man of their House, when the Deputies of the Nobility came with this Message, told them that it was not likely that the erecting of such a Court should prove so beneficial as the Nobility imagined. *The like has been attempted,* said he, *upon several Occasions;* but was it ever found that it turned to the Advantage of the Publick? This Refusal of the Clergy did not however at all discourage the Nobility, who sent again Prejan de la Fin Vidame de Chartres, and five others, to make a second Demand, but the Cardinal Du Perron, who was that Day in the Chair, told them, that his Order could not concur with the Nobility in the Proposal made unto them, till they were first of all made acquainted with the Motives, and usefulness of it. The Third State shewed more Honesty, and frankly joined with the Nobility, for the desiring the erecting of such a Court as was proposed, with a Proviso, that the same should not be put down, till they had made an end of the Affairs before them; and that the King should not pardon any Person who should be proceeded against by that Court; that the Fines laid upon them should not be compounded for; that no body should af-

1614. fit them in putting a stop to the Course of Justice ; and lastly, that the Money that should accrue from that Enquiry, and the Fines, should be employed for reimbursing supernumerary Offices , and redeem the Demesn alienated by former Kings.

The *Third State* having thus declared their Resolution to concur with the Nobility, the Clergy durst no longer refuse, at least a seeming joining with them ; and therefore they appointed *Paul Huraut de l'Hospital*, Archbishop of *Aix*, three Bishops, and two Ecclesiasticks of the second Order, to attend the King with the Deputies of the other Houses. The Resolution was judicious, and might have proved very useful to the People, had the same been well executed.

The Farmers and other Managers of the Revenue , were then, and are still by their exorbitant ways of raising Taxes in France, like so many Sponges fit to be squeezed, but that must be with the Precautions proposed by the *Third State*. A Tribunal like unto this was erected in the present Reign, under the Name of the *Chamber of Justice*; but what was it good for, except for bringing vast Sums of Money into the King's Coffers ? which instead of easing the People, was the ruin of a world of Families, the innocent being often punished, when the guilty spared ; and after so many Arbitrary Taxes, the People were loaded with heavier impositions than before.

When

When the Court saw that the Proposal for erecting a Chamber of Justice was unanimously accepted by the Three Orders of the Kingdom, with the Conditions added thereunto by the Third State, the Queen and her Ministers used all possible Endeavours to prevent the States General from enquiring into the administration of the Publick Money ; being fully perswaded that this Stratagem was one of the main Resources of the Prince of Condé and his Party, to expose the Regency of *Mary de Medicis*. The Deputies of the Three Houses attended the King at the *Louvre*, December the 2d. in the Presence of the Queen, where they desired by the Mouth of the Archbishop of *Aix*, the Erection of this new Court of Enquiry into the mismanagements of the Revenue. His Majesty returned them an Answer in general terms, which seemed to be favourable enough, without giving them any positive Promise ; and the Queen spoke afterward as if it were to explain the Intentions of her Son. The King, said she, is disposed to give all possible Satisfaction to the States on the subject matter by them desired, and all others which shall be mentioned in your general Cahier or Petition. Prepare it as soon as possible, that so the King may grant it before the breaking up of the Assembly. It is not fit to alter the usual Forms, and look for new ones, because that might be an obstruction to the dispatch of Affairs. This Answer would

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*Artifices of
the Court to
prevent the
States General
from enquiring
into the ill ad-
ministration of
the Finances.*

doubtless have occasioned great Murmurs, and therefore to prevent them; ~~Sellers~~ the Chancellor acquainted the three Houses, that notwithstanding his Majesty was no ways obliged to let his Subjects know the Particulars of the Administration of his Finances, yet he was pleased to lay before the three Orders, a State of the Receipts and Expences. The President Jeannin, said he, has had the chief management of the King's Exchequer during the Regency of the Queen, and as he is better acquainted than any body else with every thing relating to the Finances, his Majesty will send him into every House to inform each of 'em of the Particulars they desire to know.

This being look'd upon as an evasion of the Court, the Nobility press'd the two other Houses to reiterate their Demand, which they consented to. But the King and Queen returned the same Answer as before: With which grofs Shift they were so displeased, that the Nobility propos'd to attend the King a third time on the same subject. The Clergy, always Slaves to the Court, answer'd their Deputies by the Mouth of the Cardinal du Perron, that his Majesty having twice signified his Resolution of giving no answer to any particular Demands, before the Three Orders had presented their General Petition to him, it was not good manners to importune his Majesty any further. And the Ministers

sters having in the mean time gained over to their Interests some of the chief amongst the Nobility, they receded from their Resolution, and the Clergy and they contented themselves with the bare reading in their Houses of I know not what Account of Receipts and Expences, which the Court had thought fit to send to them. This Account was so imperfect, that the Deputies of the Clergy and Nobility represented that the Assembly of the States desired a more full state of the particular Administration of the Finances, and told the Chancellor in a Conference they had with the Deputies of the King's Council about some *extraordinary Commissions*, that they were mean and very pitiful Inventions for Money, which a pernicious Gang of Projectors had always ready at hand to supply the Court with, and therefore the Three Orders demanded the suppression thereof. But the *Third State* was not so complaisant as the others, and persisted in their Resolution of desiring the Liberty to take abstracts in Writing of the Account of the Receipts and Expences of the publick Money which had been sent them, and required moreover a more particular Information how it was employed. The Chancellor being much urged to this by the Deputies of the *Third State*, represented unto them, that they ought to follow the Example of the first Orders of the Kingdom. *Prudence*, said he, *doth not allow*

The History of Book V

Sovereign Princes to discover the Strength of their Revenues, and the particulars thereof. It is the Sinew and the most firm support of the King's Power. Can he discover unto his Secrets or open Enemies his most certain Resource, without exposing himself to a manifest Danger? I believe however, added he, that his Majesty will have some condescension upon this occasion, and give to the States all the Satisfaction they can reasonably wish for.

The Speech of President Jeannin to the States on the Administration of the Finances.
Mercure Francois.
1615.

Thus the Court endeavoured to amuse them with fair Words and vain Promises. Jeannin, Comptroller-General of the Finances, with Maupou, Arnaud, and Dole, Intendants thereof, attended by the King's Order the Three Houses of the States on the 21st of December, and the Session made unto them an elaborate Speech, though it contained nothing but general Words. The King, said he, hath nothing in view but to ease his People, and reform the abuses that have been introduced in the Kingdom. He intends to apply himself to it very seriously; and because the good Administration of the Publick Money is of extrem importance to the Kingdom, his Majesty has been pleased to communicate to the Three Houses the State of the Receipts and Expences of it. The Kings his Predecessors used formerly only to lay before them general Accounts, and the Intendants of their Finances contented themselves with telling them in the gross what Sums were brought into the King's Coffers, and what Expences

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Expences went out of them ; but his Majesty is willing, Gentlemen, to inform you of the Particulars of his Revenues, and the Uses they are applied to. Those who had the Management thereof, are glad that you are the Persons who are to take Cognizance of it, and only desire that you will not entertain any Prejudice against them, and you will see with your own Eyes, that they neither want Fidelity nor Uprightness. I own that the Expences that have been made during the King's Minority, will perhaps appear excessive unto you, but you are desired to consider also, that the Queen hath maintained the Kingdom in Peace ; that she has happily appeased or prevented Tumults and Insurrections, and diverted the Storms the State has been threatened with. The wisest as well as the best affected Persons in the King's Council have thought that sometimes the scattering of Money liberally for preventing those Misfortunes, was rather a good piece of husbandry than any profuseness. His Majesty is persuaded that his Treasure ought to be less dear to him than the Blood of his Subjects. The raising and marching of Troops would have been more heavy upon the Provinces, than the extraordinary Impositions they have paid.

This old crafty Courtier could not possibly put a more specious Varnish over the indiscreet, useless, and expensive Expences of his Mistress ; but as to the Proposal for erecting a Court of Justice, President Jeamin represented that the late

The History of Book VI.

King having given a general Indemnity for whatever had been transacted before he was in the peaceable Possession of his Kingdom; his Majesty could do nothing prejudicial to the Favour granted by the King his Father, without reflecting on the Memory of that great Prince. 'Tis true, added Jeannin, some Mismanagements may have been committed since that time. His Majesty therefore thinks it just to enquire into them, and to punish the Guilty. After you have presented to him your Cahier, or general Demands, he will then select out of the sovereign Courts of his Kingdom some upright and skilful Persons, and give them a Commission to enquire into the Conduct of such as shall be suspected of having converted to their own use the Treasure of the Nation. Thus the Court shifted off the Petition of the States, which desired that this new Chamber of Justice might consist of Deputies taken from the Three Orders of the Kingdom. The creating of this Tribunal could not but be a great Mortification to the Queen, as well as to her chief Ministers; and as it was impossible to prevent its being set up, so now they had no other Game to play, but to get such Judges chosen as should be entirely devoted to her Majesty's Interest. This was the Reason why the cunning Jeannin intimated, that the King would chuse out of the Sovereign Courts, such Persons as he should think most fit and capable to make a thorough

Ex-

Examination into what they so earnestly
demanded of him.

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The Cardinal de Soubise, who was Pre-
sident, or Chair-man of the Clergy that
day, answered the Speech of *Jemmin* in
a base and flattering Style. He exalted
the Administration of the Queen during
her Regency, and extoll'd her Prudence
and Piety to the Skies, and owned that
the Expences she had been at, were such
as the necessity of her Affairs had required;
nay, that without so useful an Expedient the
Kingdom could not have been able to a-
void the Misfortune of a Civil War. The
Resolution of the Clergy was conformable
to the Answer of their Chairman, and the Ecclesiastical Chamber refolyed to be
contented with what the King offered,
and voted it satisfactory, and that they
would send Deputies of their own, to en-
deavour to perwade the two other Or-
ders to the like Compliance, by joyn-
ing with them in the same Resolution.
The Nobility seemed to shew that they
had still some Sense of Life, and sent
Charles d'Angennes Lord of *Maincy*
with four others of their Body, to repre-
sent to the Clergy, that it was impossible
for the States to give the King good Ad-
vice upon a superficial Information of the
Management of the Finances. *What has*
been represented unto us, added *Maincy*,
concerning the danger and incertitude
of discovering the Particulars of the
strengths of the King's Finances, is of no con-
sider-

fideration at all ; for those who are to be acquainted with that Secret, are faithful and heartily affected to the King's Service, and the good of their Country. None shall be chosen but such as are able to keep a Secret with an inviolable Fidelity. How is it possible then that our Deputies should give good and wholsome Advice, if they are kept ignorant of the true state of the King's Treasure, and how the same has been employed ? These Arguments in themselves were convincing enough, but nothing is able to move fearful and self-interested Clergy-men. Sourdis replied , that his Order found the Offers of the Court so just and reasonable, that they thought the States ought to be satisfied with them : The Nobility thereupon insisted no farther, and the two first Orders having thus complied, the Third found it self too weak to bear up against the Court any longer.

*The Article of
the State-Gen-
eral concerning
the Ad-
ministration
of Finances.
Mereue
Francois
1613.*

There happened afterwards some Disputes between the three Houses and the King's Council , concerning the manner how the Account of the Receipts and Expences should be communicated to the Thirty six Deputies of the Three Orders that had been appointed to examine the Affairs of the Finances. At last they discovered unto them with a great deal of Mystery, that the yearly Expences amounted to one and twenty Millions, and five hundred thousand Livres, where-
as the Receipt came to no more than eight-

eighteen Millions, eight hundred thousand *Livres*. This Account appeared to have been drawn up on purpose to put a gloss and colour upon the Queen's Profusion of the Treasure which had been left by Henry IV. The Deputies of the States being persuaded that the overplus of the Expences had been employed for payment of Pensions extorted by the Grandees, or inconsiderately granted by the Queen, they demanded to have a particular Account laid before them of the Pensions his Majesty was obliged to pay. *Fearnin* made answer, that a Secret of such importance could not be divulged without a most manifest Prejudice to the King's Affairs; and told them, that besides the Account which had been already shewn them, the King raised eighteen Millions and upwards of one hundred thousand *Livres* more, which were employed for the payment of the Wages of Officers, and several other things which should be communicated to them by the Intendants of the Finances. If this report is true and to be depended upon, they raised in France during the Minority of Lewis XIII. about thirty seven Millions of *Livres*, whereof nineteen were hardly brought into the King's Coffers. The Revenue was considerably increased under the Ministry of Cardinal de Richelieu, for I find in a Book which bears the Name of that Minister, that towards the latter end of the Reign of his Master, they raised

The Political
Testament of
Cardinal de
Richelieu, ch.
9. Sect. 4.

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fed near 80 Millions of Livres, whereof forty five and somewhat more were im-
ployed in paying the Charges of the State.
Dear Country! Thou mightest be still
flourishing, if the Son of him whose His-
tory I am now writing, had at least left
things as he found them upon his accession
to the Throne; if the Ministers of his
Luxury and Ambition had only applied
themselves to the lessening of the Charges
of the State, for increasing the Revenue
of their Master! One of the most wick-
ed Princes that ever was, had at least
Sense enough to propose to himself this
following Maxim as a Rule; *That a good
Shepherd scars his Sheep, but does not stay
them.* But the Humanity of the *Most
Christian King* does not extend so far,
The honest and well-affectioned Members
of the States extreamly resenting the
Treatment of the Court, in not allowing
them a greater Inspection into the particu-
lars of the Administration of the Finan-
ces, thought they could not do their Coun-
try a better piece of Service than to cause
an Article to be inserted in their *Cabier*
or general Demand, in the most lively
and pressing Terms they could; wherein
they gave the King most admirable Ad-
vice about the Method of regulating his
Expences to the best advantage. How-
ever, the Court did not much trouble
their Heads with their Politicks, being
fully resolved, so soon as ever the States
were broke up, to take the liberty of fol-
lowing

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lowing such Councils as they should think fit. The States notwithstanding represented to his Majesty, that he ought by no means to lay any extraordinary Taxes upon his People, for that Hellish Maxim, That the King may exact from his Subjects whatever he pleases, and that therein his Will is the sole Rule of his Power, was not then received in France. The Cardinal de Richelieu himself, would fain make the World believe he abhor'd it. It only belongs, says he, to Flatterers and those that are the real Plagues of the Court, to whisper this into Princes Ears. The States having in the next place represented to the King that the Pensions given to the Nobility and Gentry, were of dangerous consequence to the Kingdom, and very Burthenous to the People, upon whom the Weight of that Charge was to lie, they humbly desired his Majesty to retrench them, seeing there were Places and Benefactions enough for rewarding those who served their Country honourably. And lastly, they desired that there might be three Members at least of the General States in the Chamber of Justice, which the King promised to establish; and that the Money accruing from this Enquiry might be applied towards reimbursing the Debts due by his Majesty, and for redeeming the Royal Domains which had been mortgaged upon that Account. The Court found it less difficult to break the Union
of

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*The Article of
the Third E-
state for the
Sovereign
Power of the
King, and the
security of his
Person.
Mercurie
Francois.
1615.*

of the Three Orders concerning the Finances, because they were then strangely divided amongst themselves by reason of an Article, which had been received by the Third State. The Clergy opposed it with all the strength they could, and the Nobility brought over by the Intrigues of the Pope's Creatures, by the Artifices of the Jesuits, and the Clamour of the Ambitious or beguiled Clergy, declared openly for them against the Third State. The latter maintained their Article with all imaginable Vigour, and the Magistrates of the Parliament of Paris, supported it with all the Interest and Authority they had; insomuch that that famous Article was debated on both sides with a great deal of Warmth and Spirit. We will sum up the particulars of an Affair which so much alarmed the old Pope *Paul V.* and so strangely perplexed his good Zealot, the Queen *Mary de Medicis*.

The Third State having begun December 15. to prepare their *Cahier*, the Deputies of the City of Paris, and of the Government of the *Isle of France*, proposed to insert therein a very material Article for the Sovereign Power of the King, and the security of his Royal Person, which was to this effect. That for preventing the Consequence of a pernicious Doctrine, which had been broached some Years since against Kings and Sovereign Powers established by God, his Majesty should be desired to cause to be published in the Assembly of the

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the States-General, as an inviolable and fundamental Law of the Kingdom, That the King being recognized Supreme in France, and holding his Authority from God alone, there was no power upon Earth, either Spiritual or Temporal, that had Right to deprive him of his Kingdom, nor to dispence with, nor to absolve his Subjects from their Fidelity, and the Allegiance they owed him, for any cause whatsoever. That all the Subjects of the Realm should acknowledge this Law for holy, true, and conformable to the Word of God, without any Distinction, Equivocation, or Limitation. That all the Deputies of the States-General, all Magistrates, and Clergymen having Benefices, should be obliged to take this Oath, before they were admitted to the Possession of their Benefices and Dignities. That all Teachers, Rectors, Doctors and Preachers, should be obliged to defend the same: And that the contrary Opinion, as well as that Doctrine which holds it lawful to murder and depose Sovereign Princes, and to rebel against them upon any Account whatsoever, should be declared false, impious, detestable, and contrary to the Constitution of the French Monarchy, which depends immediately upon God alone. That all Books teaching such wicked Doctrine should be looked upon as seditious and damnable. That all Foreigners who should presume so defend it, should be adjudged Enemies to the Crown. That all the King's Subjects of whatsoever Condition or Quality, who should embrace this

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this Doctrine, should be punished as Rebels, Infringers of the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom; and guilty of high Treason. That if any Foreign Divine either Regular or Secular should publish any Book, containing Propositions directly or indirectly contrary to this received Law aforesaid, Such Ecclesiasticks or Religious as were of the same Order in this Kingdom, should be obliged to confute the Book of such their or Brother, without any regard at all to him, but with all the Sincerity and just Arguments they were able, upon Pain of being punished as favourers of the Enemies of the State. In short, the Deputies who proposed this Article, required that this Law should be read once a Year in all Superior and Inferior Courts of this Kingdom, that so it might be known, and religiously observed by all the King's Subjects.

When this Article was proposed in the Chamber of the third Estates, the twelve great Governments of France did almost unanimously vote for receiving of it, and several Reasons seemed to concur for their taking up this Resolution, which was like to prove so unacceptable to the Pope and his Clergy. The Assassination of two Kings of France one after another, by Villains that had been seduced by the Doctrine of the Jesuits, and other Writers devoted to the Court of Rome, had filled all honest French-men with Horror and Indignation: Wherefore they thought it was absolutely necessary to extirpate, whatsoever it cost them,

them, such Doctrines, the fatal Consequences of which they had too much already felt and experienced. Others amongst them who were more wise and discerning, had something else in their View, and resolved if they could by secret and insensible Methods to undermine that enormous and formidable Power, which the Popes had usurped in Countries under their Obedience; and were not without hopes, that when they had destroyed the Authority which the Popes claimed to themselves over Sovereign Princes, they might find it afterwards no difficult Task to reduce the other Pretensions of the Court of *Rome* into narrower and more reasonable Bounds. Perhaps likewise several of them were willing to shake off that Yoke, which had been put upon them by their blind Ancestors thro' their Ignorance and Superstition. The just Indignities that honest Men had conceived of having introduced that new and dangerous Institution of the Jesuits in the best Cities of France, was another Motive that also stirred up the third State, to redress the Mischief which the weakness of Law might have drawn upon the Kingdom. By this wise Law the Jesuits were now reduced to this mortifying Alternative, either to shut up their Colleges and renounce Preaching, or else to break their Engagement and strict Correspondence with the Pope and Court of *Rome*, their Superior General, and their Confresses, or fellow Brethren in Italy and Spain, The Cardinals

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dinals, the Pope's Nuncio, and the Jesuits quickly perceived the Consequences of this Article, and therefore left no Stone unturned to get it dropt, and not put into the *Cahier* of the third State : The Cardinal of *Foyeuse*, Dean of (what they call) *the sacred College* was retired to *Conflans* near *Paris* for the Recovery of his Health ; but the Pope's Nuncio and Clergy pressed him to return so soon as he could, that so he might make use of his own Credit, and that of his Friends with the Queen in an affair, which was so Important to the Pope, that it made the good old Gentleman very uneasy.

*The Motives of
the Clergy a-
gainst the Ar-
ticle of the
third Estate.
Murcurie
Francois
1615*

The next Day after, upon the passing of the Article in the third State, the Chamber of the Clergy made a great deal of Noise, crying out *Mal à une, all is not
done, there are Rascals and Heretics in this
Assembly, that have conspired the Ruine of
our Religion.* Upon this several Expedi-
ents were proposed, but the People were
in such a Fermentation that it was im-
possible to take any certain measures,
they desired therefore in the mean time the
Cardinals de Sonys and de la Rocheboucaut
to represent with all speed to the King and
the Queen his Mother, the Danger the Catho-
lick Religion was exposed to by a power-
ful Cabal in the Chamber of the third E-
state. Their Majesties made Answer to
the Cardinals that they would take care
that no new and useless Propositions should
be

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be brought before the Assembly; but however, the third Estate maintained with the utmost Vigour, the Justice and Necessity of this Article: The Clergy on this other hand made more Noise than ever. *What Indignity*, said they, *intheir House, Under Pretence of maintaining the Royal Authority, and preserving the King's sacred Person, they suffer designing wicked Persons to propose Things which do manifestly tend to raise a Sobism, to sow Division among Catholicks, and to break the good Correspondence between the King and the Holy-See.* The Power of the Pope and that of the King, do mutually support each other without invading their respective Prerogatives. Their Rights are altogether separate, and the Pope and the King have an equal Care to keep within the just Bounds, that God the Author of their Power hath prescribed to them. The inspiring the King with Jealousies against the Pope, could never be more unfectionable than now; for France never stood so much in need of his Holiness's Favour and Friendship as at this time. These Declamations being over, the Clergy resolved to make very powerful Exhortations to the two other Chambers to take no Resolution on any matters concerning Faith, Hierarchy, and Ecclesiastical Discipline, without first of all giving Notice of it to the Clergy, for fear there should happen some untoward disputes between the three Estates, and lest one of them should desire of his Majesty such things as would be contrary to what the other should demand

mand in their Cahier. *We shall have*, said the Clergy, *The same deference for the two other Estates, and will insert nothing into our Cahier, relating to the Nobility or to the third Estate, without first acquainting them with it.* Precaud, Bishop of Aurenches, and Glandevan, Bishop of Cisteron, were appointed to make this Remonstrance to the Nobility, whilst the Arch-Bishop of Aix, attended by two Prelates of the Inferior Order, was to do the like in the House of the third Estate.

The Expedient, proposed by the Clergy, was well receiv'd by the Nobility, who thereupon sent Mauisenon and five other Noblemen with him, to assure the Clergy in behalf of their Order, that they could come to no Resolution in any Matter relating to Religion and the Church, without first having a Conference with the Clergy. *You are*, said Mauisenon, *our true and lawful Doctors, and it belongs to you to instruct us, and prescribe what we ought to believe in these Matters.* Was there ever a more base and ridiculous piece of Flattery than this? For were the Deputies of the Clergy, such able and extraordinary Men? Had they all the Learning and Light imaginable? So far from it, that their House was composed for the most part of fearful ignorant and superstitious Monks, and if there were any learned Men amongst them, their Ambition made them perfect Slaves to the Court of Rome.

The

The Courage and Stedfastness of the third Estate, ought to have overwhelmed the Nobility with Shame and Confusion: They carried it however outwardly with great Respect to the Clergy, for fear of incensing the Cabal of the Pope and the Bigots, who were at that time in a very great fermentation, and therefore they sent Marmiesse, an Advocate of Thonon^e, and Capitoul of that City, One of the chief Magistrates. with five other Deputies to assure them, that the third Estate had no design to meddle in matters relating to Faith. *We desire you only*, said he, *not to be offended if we prepare without your Assistance, some Articles for re-establishing Ecclesiastical Discipline, for reforming several Abuses that have crept in among the Clergy, and for regulating the spiritual Jurisdiction which ought to make no Encroachment upon the Temporal.* All these Things are within our Cognizance, yet we could wish we might communicate these Articles unto you, but perhaps that might not only occasion some Disputes between you and us, but might cause delay in our Proceeding. You may be persuaded, Gentlemen, that we shall use the utmost Prudence in every thing that relates to the Church. We shall meddle only with the Gown; I mean with outward Actions, which is a dis honour to your Order, and a Scandal to true Christians. The Clergy by no means relished this Speech, for they can never bear with censures that come from Lay-Folks. The Cardinal de Soissons answer'd in few Words, that what concerned Ecclesiastical Discipline was no less im-

important, nor less sacred than what concerned Faith and Religion : That the Lai-ty no more ought to take Cognizance of the one than of the other, and that their House would consider of the Answer made to them by the third Estate.

The Clergy renewed their Clamours, and were almost going to call all the Deputies of the third Estates, Huguenots. Their Article, said they, is purposely contriv'd for dividing the French Catholicks, and cause a Schism be tween them and other Countries. They are about to make that an Article of Faith, which has been looked upon as a controverted, and Problematical Question. What subjects of Triumph will not this give to Heresie ? It will grow more extravagant and predominante than ever. What answer shall we make to her insults, when she reproaches us, that we condemn a Heretical mass, a generally received at Rome, and else where ? The better to conceal the snare which they lay to weak People, the third Estate do in this same Article bring in an Opinion contrary to the security of the Lives of Princes, together with what concerns the Power of the Pope, and the King's Authority. Thus those ignorant Clergy, who were Slaves to the Court of Rome, owned publickly, and without any more ado, that the Doctrine, which gives the Pope a Power to depose Kings, and absolve their Subjects from the Allegiance they owe to their lawful Sov- reign, is a Problematical and a tolerable Opinion ; which cannot be condemned as per-

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pernicious and contrary to the Holy-Scrip-
tures, without making a Schism with the
Pope, and the other Countries under his
Obedience. The Prelates of the Assembly
of the French Clergy in the Year 1682,
were ashamed of the Ignorance and Base-
ness of their Predecessors, for they declar'd,
that according to the Institution of *Iesu*
Christi, the Church has no manner of Pow-
er, either directly or indirectly, on the
Temporal Power of Princes: But did the
French Clergy for all that make a Schism
with *Rome*? Yes, and *Innocent XI.* and
his Successors did believe it, and the Hos-
ty-See did not think that those who had
had any share in that Declaration were
worthy of the Episcopal Dignity, unless they
did make a solemn Retraction of the Er-
ror which they had so published. To
speak the Truth, the Bishops and other
Prelates of the Assembly of the Estates-Ge-
neral, shewed more Sincerity and Candor,
than those who compos'd the Assembly
of the Clergy of *France* in the Year,
1682.

The Clergy having debated a great
while about the Answer the third Estate
had made them by their Deputy *Marsan-*
esse, they resolved to send unto them *Fau-*
mille, Bishop of *Montpellier*, to exhort
them not to meddle in those Matters which
concerned the Discipline of the Church,
or the Reformation of Abuses; and to re-
present to them that the Canon of the Coun-
cil of *Constance*, and several other of the

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Pope's

1615. Pope's Decrees were more than sufficient for securing the Lives of Sovereign Princes, against the pernicious Doctrine of some modern Authors. Fenouillet did not manage the Affair so well as he should have done, and made a Speech unbecoming the Episcopal Dignity, but full of Allusions and childish Comparisons; but this was, it seems the ordinary Stile of that time. *You expose your selves, Gentlemen, to a great deal of Danger, said he, and go beyond the Bounds of your Authority, if you meddle with the Discipline of the Church: 'Tis an inseparable Thing from the Body of Religion. Our Character cannot permit us to suffer such an attempt; consider therefore that you are about dividing an Assembly, whose chief Design ought to be to procure Peace.* Where had that Prelate learned that the Third Estate could not with a safe Conscience take any Resolutions about Ecclesiastical Discipline? Has not the King a Right as well as his Predecessors and other Christian Emperors, to publish Laws for maintaining a good Order in the Church, and to preserve the purity of Faith in her? And if so then, his Subjects assembled by their Representatives to give him their Advice, and to represent what they think necessary for the good of the Kingdom, might equally remonstrate to his Majesty the abuses introduced both in the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church, and desire the Reformation of them.

Mercure
Français
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The third Estate, having debated on the frequent Instances of the Clergy, resolved at last to communicate their Article to the two other Orders : The Nobility immediately sent the Baron of Pont St. Pierre, to tell the Clergy, that the said Article containing Things obscure, which relate to Religion, their Order was resolved to have the Opinion of the Ecclesiasticks about it, and conform themselves accordingly. Such a Compliment as this could not fail to meet with most favourable reception ; and the Cardinal de Sourdis returned the Nobility a very civil and obliging Answer. The Clergy made a show as if they would set a whole Day apart to debate this Article, but they had resolved beforehand unanimously to reject it ; and in order to please the Pope the more, they desired Cardinal du Perron to represent to the Nobility and the Third Estate, the Danger of making that a fundamental Law, and Article of Faith, which had been proposed by the Third Estate. Du Perron had already prepared his Speech, and the next Day, being the last of December, he went in great State and Equipage to the House of the Nobility, attended by the Arch-Bishop of Lyons and Aix, and several other Prelates, besides, I know not how many Deputies of the second Order. This Speech of his lasted three Hours, and I shall come to it by and by. The Baron de Senecy, who was Chairman that Day, answered the Cardinal with a world of pompous

Rhetorick and Eloquence. After this, L'Hopital, Count de Choisy, and seven other Deputies were joyned in Commission, to go and assure the Clergy, that the Nobility did entirely conform themselves to the Sentiments of the Ecclesiastical Chamber, concerning the Article drawn up by the Third Estate.

The Parliament of Paris, saw with horror the shameful Prevarication of the Clergy and Nobility, in so basely sacrificing to the Pope the Interests of the King, and the fundamental Maxims of the Kingdom, and from a just Indignation at the insulting manner, with which *du Perron* had undertaken to dispute against the Arti-

The Decree of the Third Estate, Servin, the King's Advocate General, remonstrated on the difference that happened in the Assembly of the Estates General, before the One and Thirtieth of December to the Parliament, that the King's Council in the Attorney and Solicitor General, having certain Advice, that several Persons had taken the liberty to call into question, and held for Problematical, the following Maxims which had been all along received in France, and were even born with the Crown, viz. That the King acknowledges no Superior in Temporal Things within his Kingdom but God alone, and that no Power upon Earth hath any Right to absolve his Majesty's Subjects from their Oath of Fidelity, and the Obedience they owe him, nor to suspend him or deprive him, or depose him from his Throne; and much less shall to attempt, or cause any attempt to be made by any Authority whatsoever, either

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Publick or Private, on the sacred Persons of Sovereign Princes, The Advocate General at last concluded with this Request, that the Court would be pleased to put a stop to all further Proceedings, and command that the Decrees given formerly in this behalf, might be revived and published anew in all Places within their Jurisdiction, that so the King's Subjects of all Ranks and Qualities might be confirmed and strengthened in the said Maxims and Rules, for the security of his Royal Life, and the Publick Peace and Tranquility; with strict Prohibitions to depart from them under the same Penalties as were prescribed in the precedent Decrees. Two Days after, the Chambers of the Parliament of Paris being assembled together, drew up and presented a Declaration conformable to the Request of the Procurator and Advocate General. Such an irregularity would have surprised all the World, if they had not been long since used to these odd and Shuttle-cock ways in France: For what can be more Extravagant than to see, whilst the chief Magistrates of the Kingdom, were making use of the King's Authority for the maintenance of that which they look'd upon and justified to be the fundamental Maxim of the French Monarchy, that the Clergy at the same time should openly impugn it, and that in the Assembly of the Estates-General by the Mouth of a Cardinal, that was Arch-Bishop of Sens? Clergy & Men Triumph over the Parliament, and the Nobility extol to the Skies,

*1615 The
Cardinal du
Perron's
Speech to the
Third Estate.*

Him whom the Magistrates condemn as a Seditious Person, and a breaker of the most ancient and sacred Law of the Kingdom.

It is a difficult matter to judge, what were the various Motions with which the French were agitated in the beginning of this Year, 1615. The Clergy and the bigotted Zealots equally exclaimed against, and reflected on the Parliament and the Third Estate, and extolled in an hyperbolical manner, the Speech that Cardinal du Perron had made in the House of the Nobility, and which he was preparing to repeat before the Third Estate, as a Master-piece of Eloquence and Learning; and indeed it must be owned it was dressed up with a great deal of Art and Subtlety. To do the Clergy of France Justice, and give them their Deserts, we must acknowledge that there are always found amongst them some learned and sincere Persons. Such were then the defenders of the Sentiments of Richer, who were run down in the Sorbonne by the Cabal of Dr. Duval, and every where cryed out against by the Emissaries of Rome, as the secret Enemies of Religion: Those honest Men declar'd for the Article of the Third Estate, and openly condemned the Prevarication of the Clergy. On the other hand, the Parliament and the Third Estate exclaimed against the Clergy and the Nobility, who had been captivated and imposed upon by the false and deceitful Learning, and the dazzling Arguments of the Cardinal du Perron. And that

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that Prelate was in a particular manner reflected upon. *He is himself convinced* (said several of them) *of the Truth of the Doctrines he opposes: That subtle and crafty Man does without any scruple or reluctance sacrifice the Light of his Conscience to his Ambition and Fortune.* This again brought fresh to mind in what a shameful manner he had prostituted the Majesty of the late King his Master, in basely suffering him to be whipp'd and caned at Rome by Proxy, to preserve the Honour of the Pope, which ought to have been less dear to a generous Mind, than the Dignity of the Crown of France. *Is not such a Man* (said they) *capable of doing any thing whenever the Court of Rome is to be pleased?* That of Paris was not sorry to see this Dispute, which stifled the weak remains of a good Correspondence between the three Estates, and afforded a plausible Pretence to dismiss the Assembly of the Estates-General, whose Members being thus exasperated one against the other, were afterward unable to take any good Resolutions: But although Queen Mary de Medicis was pleased with these Quarrels and Differences, because they served her present turn; yet on the other hand, was she very much embarrassed. The Pope's Nuncio and the Clergy were very earnest with her, for their particular Ends and Interests; but it was so much the more dangerous, as Affairs then stood, to irritate the Third Estate, and the Parliament united together; because the Prince

1615. of Condé endeavoured all he could to support them. Indeed any other than himself would have wisely improved the Opportunity to strengthen his Party, and make himself more formidable to the Court; but that good Prince acted with so much Weakness, and took such wrong Measures in all his Proceedings, that the Queen and those who were her Confidants, found it no great Trouble to desear him in them all.

*The Speech of
C. Du Perron to the
third Estate,*

Oeuvres Di-
verses du
Cardinal du
Perron.

Mercurie.
Francois.
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January the 26. 1615, the Cardinal du Perron went in great Pomp and Equipage to the House of the Third Estate, attended by twelve Deputies from the Nobility, several Bishops and a great Number of Clergy-men of the second Order. *O Lord open my Lips, and my Mouth shall shew forth thy Praise,* said then the Cardinal, as if he had come thither to defend the most important Truth of the Christian Faith. After this insinuating Preamble, he distinguished two Things in the Article of the Third Estate, and seemed as if he was inclined to agree with them therein; the one related to the Safety of the Persons of Princes, and the other to the Sovereign Power of the Kings of France. The Cardinal in the Name of the Clergy thundered out most dreadful Anathemas and Curses, against such as conspired to take away the Lives of Princes, even of those that were accounted Tyrants; but maintained, that the fear alone, of Eternal Punishments was enough to deter even the most profligate and flagitious from forming so black a Design; and that it:

it did therefore belong to the Church, whose Authority is Certain and Infallible. and not to Lay-Magistrates, to condemn the pernicious Doctrine of those Authors, who teach that in some certain Cases, it is lawful to take away the Lives of those Princes, who abuse their Power; This is one of the most pitiful Arguments that can be produced; for is not Murther clearly and expressly forbidden by the Laws of God? If so, then it follows, that Princes and Magistrates may Command those that are appointed for the Works of the Ministry, and to be Instructors of the People, and Preservers of good Order in civil Society, to Promise upon Oath, that they will not teach nor suffer any others to Preach or Publish such a Doctrine as is manifestly contrary to what God has forbidden in his Word. And if Vileins are not restrained by the fears of those Punishments, wherewith God threatens Murthersers; is there any reason to hope that the Anathema's denounced by the Pope of *Rome* or any Council, should make any stronger Impression upon them? As to the second Thing which *Du Perron* distinguished in the Article; he declared that the Clergy did believe that the Kings of France had an absolute Sovereignty; that they depended upon God alone, and that they acknowledged no other Superior Power in the temporal Administration of their Kingdom. Those two Articles, said he, we hold for certain and indubitable, but however, with a

1613. different sort of certainty: The former is founded on Divine Revelation, but the second is proved by meer Historical Facts.

The state of the Question between the Clergy and the third Estate.

The Cardinal came then to the third Point, and pretended, it was here lay the main dispute between the Clergy and the Third Estate. Whether such Princes, who by themselves and their Predecessors, have taken an Oath to God and their Subjects, to live and die in the Profession of the Christian Catholick Religion; should come to break their Oath, to renounce Jesus Christ, and openly to declare War against him; that is, to fall into manifest Heresie or turn Apostates from the Christian Religion; and goon so far as to force their Subjects Conscience, and indeavour to plant Arianism, Mahometism, or the like in their Dominions, and extirpate Christianity out of them; whether I say, the Subjects of such Princes, may be lawfully declared absolded from that Oath of Fidelity that they have taken; and to whom it belongs in such cases, to declare that the People are free from such Obligation in which they had bound themselves? This is, pursued Du Perron, what we maintain to be the point in Question and controverstied. Your Article assures the Negation, that is, that there is no case wherein Subjects may be absolded from the Oath of Fidelity they have taken to their Prince; and on the contrary, all the other Parties of the Catholick Church, since Schools were instittuted, till Calvin came, hold the Affirmative, to wit, that when a Prince violates the Oath he hath taken to God and his Subjects,

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jects, to live and die in the Catholick Religion, and does not only turn Arian, or Mahometan, but goes so far as to declare War against Jesus Christ; that is to say, to force his Subjects Conscience, to compel them to embrace Arianism, Mahometism, or any other such Infidelity; that Prince may be declared to have forsaken his Rights, as being guilty of Felony toward him, to whom he has sworn Fidelity for his Kingdom, that is, Jesus Christ; and his Subjects may be absolved in Conscience, and by the Spiritual and Ecclesiastical Tribunal, from the Oath of Fidelity they have taken unto him. And in this case it belongs to the Authority of the Church, residing either in her Head, which is the Pope, or in her Body, which is the Council to pronounce that Declaration. These were the Terms which the Cardinal made use of to state the Question, which was at that time debated with great warmth and heats on both sides. Now since by his own Confession he Acknowledges, that *It was the greatest Affair then on Foot in Christendom*, I hope I may be allowed to enter upon the Particulars of this famous Controversie, and give some Account of the Reasons each Party alledged in favour of their Opinions, and the various Methods they made use of to support them. Now it seems to me, that *D^r. Perron does not exactly relate the true occasion of this Controversie*. I own indeed, that the Third Estate asserted in their Article, that the King of France holding his Crown on-

*The Cardinal
does not right-
ly state the
Question.*

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1615. ly from God, no Spiritual or Temporal Power whatsoever, had any Right to deprive him of his Kingdom, nor to absolve his Subjects from their Allegiance, upon any Account or Pretence whatsoever. But as it was not then their Business to regulate the Rights of the People, in case the King should come to violate the Oath, whereby he had bound himself to his Subjects at his Accession to the Crown; 'tis plain and evident, that the Third Estate had only foreign Powers in their view in this Article, as the Pope, General Councils, the Emperor, or any Potentate, who should ridiculously imagine that they had a Power to dispose of the Kingdom of France in some certain cases. No body could be ignorant that the French Nation, having formerly believed, that the last Princes of the Race of *Clavis* and *Charlemain*, had forfeited the Rights which their Birth had given them to the Kingdom, had conveyed over the Crown to another Family. Whether they had good substantial and lawful Reasons on their side to justify what they then did, in rejecting the Issue of *Clavis* and *Charlemain*, and in advancing to the Throne, *Pepin* and *Hugh Capet*, there is no need to examine that Point now. It is enough for my Purpose to know, that the French were of old persuaded, that in some cases, it was lawful for them to rid themselves of a wicked King, and to take a better in his Room. It is upon this Principle that the Right of the Family which at this

this Day Reigns in France is only founded. If it were otherwise, *Hugh Capet* had been a meer Usurper, and *Lewis the XIII.* whose Authority the Third Estate sought then to maintain, would have had no other Title to the Crown, but that which a long Prescription may give to a Family that has been originally grounded upon Usurpation. Now there is no likelihood that the Third Estate would call into Question the Rights of the Posterity of *Capet*, and therefore consequently they must needs have taken for granted, that the several Estates of the Kingdom may depose a King who takes no manner of Care to keep the solemn Oath which he hath made to his People. The Third Estate did only declare that it does not belong to the Pope, nor any other foreign Power whatsoever, either Spiritual or Temporal, to meddle in a Matter, the Cognisance of which belongs to the French alone, and to the Judgment of which no Clergy-man ought to be called, but as he is a Member of the Civil Society.

I observe also that *Du Perron* does not act a sincere part, when he intimates that his Church does only claim the Right of absolving the Subjects of a Prince from their Oath of Allegiance, who hath apostatized from the Christian Religion, or else is a favourer and promoter of such an Heretic as *Arianism*, and not being satisfied with destroying his own Soul, is resolved to free the Consciences of his Subjects, and

1615. and to extirpate Christianity out of his Domains, or at least to introduce therein most damnable Errors. This is only fit to delude poor ignorant People ; for the Pope and his Clergy maintain, that the Subjects of any *Heretical* Prince may be absolved from the Oath they have taken unto him. Now the Word *Heresie* has a very large signification in the *Romish Church* : To dispute the least of the Pretensions of the Pope and Clergy, to oppose their unjust usurpations is as execrable an Heresie with them, as that of the Enemies of the Divinity of *Jesus Christ*. Have not such Emperors and Princes as have presumed to defend the Rights of their Crowns against the Pope, been deprived of their Dignity as *Hereticks*, Apostates and Sworn Enemies of *Jesus Christ*? *Innocent XI.* hath had at least the Pleasure and the Glory even in our own Days to make one tremble, whom the basest Flattery that ever was heard of, has so often called *The greatest King in the World*. The Fears that *Louis XIV.* had of the Thunder of the *Vaticans*, obliged him by way of Precaution, to bring an Appeal from the Injustice, with which his Majesty and his Kingdom were threatened from the Holy-See. Strange ! That the most zealous Protector of the Catholick Religion, and the most violent Persecutor of *Heresie*, should be afraid of being overwhelmed himself, with the *Anathema's* denounced against *Hereticks*, and the declared Enemies of the *Church*.

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The Cardinal enlarged afterwards, in 1615.

shewing the Inconveniencies which in his Opinion followed from the Article of the Third Estate, and which he reduced to four principal Heads; the first was that, *Thu Perron.*

is to force Consciences, and to lay Snare wherewith to catch them, says Du Perron, to compel People upon Pain of an Anathema, to swear that they believe as a thing revealed in the Word of God, a Doctrine contrary to the Opinions of our Predecessors, and to what is commonly received in other Catholick Countries. I will not take upon me here to confute all the Historical Facts, whether false or misrelated, made use of by Du Perron, to prove, that Popes, and what he is pleased to call the Church, have depos'd Heretical Princes; I will content myself with giving you one only, and that taken from the History of France, and by that Instance leave the World to judge of the sincerity of this Declaimer. *When the French, says he, resolved to depose Childebert, because of his stupidity, and to place Pepin on the Throne, they would never pay Homage to the latter, till the Pope had first absolved them at his Spiritual Tribunal, from the Oath they had taken to the last King of the House of Clovis.* Here by the Confession of a Cardinal, we see a Pope giving the French a Dispensation from the Oath of Allegiance they had taken to their Prince, not because he was an Apostate or an Heretic, but because he was represented at Rome, as one stupid and incapable of governing

Remarks on
the first incon-
venience propo-
sed by Du
Perron.

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verning his Kingdom. *This Affair of Chil-deric, replies Du Perron, concerned Religion by accident ; for the imbecility of the Prince, put France into the hazard of losing the Christian Religion.* The Saracens, Masters of Africa and Spain, had already ravaged several Provinces belonging to the Crown of France. Who can forbear Laughing at such an Evasion ? There may be perhaps, a Prince in the Christian World, as weak as poor Childeric ; and therefore the Pope may when he pleases, absolve his Subjects from their Oath of Fidelity too, upon pretence that the Dominions of such a weak and stupid King, are in danger of being invaded by his own Neighbouring Infidels, or at least by such People, whom Rome call Hereticks. *This also concerns Religion by accident.*

A Man more sincere than *Du Perron*, might frankly tell the World, that the French Nation, scrupling to break their Oaths, consulted the first Bishop in the West, and that the Pope gained over by the Artifices of *Pepin*, who promised to assist him against the *Lombards*, decided, that they might with a safe Conscience depose Childeric, and choose another King more capable, to defend and govern them. 'Tis by such Steps as these, that Popes have attained to that monstrous Power, which makes them formidable to crowned Heads. Such Nations as have come originally from the North, have never given their Kings an arbitrary and unlimited Pow-

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Power; but have always believed that Princes and Subjects being reciprocally bound one to the other, the People are free from their Oath, so soon as the Sovereign does not observe his own, and when once he becomes unable to protect and govern those that have submitted to him upon that Condition. Besides that, this is grounded upon the Law of Nature, and the first Principles of the Constitution of civil Societies, it is likewise by the constant Practice of all Nations that live under Political Government. But because the Religion of an Oath proved sometimes a great Obstacle to the Ambition of those that aspired after Regal Dignity, they therefore found out an Expedient for removing that Difficulty, and that was to engage the Popes, whose Authority was become greater and more venerable, by reason of the gross Ignorance and Superstition of the last Centuries, to declare, that Subjects were in some cases absolved from their Oath. The Court of Rome, having been all along very dexterous in improving every thing to their own Advantages, the Popes took upon them afterward to declare by their own Authority, without waiting for others to come and consult them, that the Subjects of such a Prince, whom either from Animosity or private Interest, they run down as Heretick and Enemy to the Christian Religion, were absolved from the Oath of Fidelity they had taken to him. They did not stop here, but shortly

1613. ly after they had the Impudence to maintain, that *Jesus Christ* had given St. *Peter* and his pretended Successors, the Rights of deposing Princes of transferring their State to others, and commanding their Subjects to rise up in Arms against them, and deprive them of their Crown. The more I reflect on the History of the several Nations of *Europe*, the more I am convinced that the Popes have thus set themselves above crowned Heads, only by the abuse of a most true Principle, commonly received by all the free and civilized Nations; That there is a mutual and reciprocal Obligation between a Prince and his Subjects; in so much, that if one of the Parties does not take care to keep his Oath, the others are free from theirs.

I confess that *du Perron* is more exact in relating the Opinions of some French Divines and Lawyers of the latter Centuries; for those Authors being very ignorant in the Holy Scriptures, and Ecclesiastical Antiquity have attributed to the Pope, a certain indirect Power over the Rights of Princes; but the Inference drawn by the Cardinal from the ignorance of some Writers, proves nothing at all. What then, shall it never be lawful to renounce an inveterate Error? No, says the Cardinal, this can never be done without condemning those who have gone before us. But to this we may reply, that we do not condemn them, but we embrace a Truth, which the Superstition, and unjust Violence.

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lence of Popes had concealed from them. However this unreasonable Scruple did not stop the Prelates and Clergy-men of the second Order, in the Assembly of the Clergy of France, holden in the year 1682, for they rejected the Doctrine of Cardinal *Du Perron*, and the Authors he quored, to shew his profound Learning. That Assembly did solemnly declare, that those Opinions were contrary to the Doctrine of *Jesus Christ* and his Apostles; and the Harangue of Cardinal *Du Perron*, composed with so much Artifice, pronounced with such an Air of Assurance, received with so great Applause by the ignorant Nobility, and the Cabal of the Bigots, enter'd with so much Honour and Distinction in the Archives of the Clergy; I say, this very Harangue was ignominiously taken from thence, by an express Decree of the Assembly of the Clergy. Could not that cunning Prelate foresee what Affront would be one day offered to his Memory? But he was so religious that he could not condemn the Sentiments of his Predecessors, perhaps to inspire Posterity with the same tenderness for his own.

The second Inconveniency alledged by the Cardinal, appeared to considerig Men as light and inconsiderable as the former. *The absurdity of the second inconveniency proposed by the Cardinal.*
The fundamental Law which you propose, said he to the Third Estate, gives the *Lai*-
ty a Power to judge of Affairs of Religion. You decide in your Article, that the Doctrine contained therein is agreeable to the Word

1615. of God, and that the contrary Opinion is impious and detestable. But there is something still more outragious than that; you impose upon Clergymen the necessity of swearing, that they will teach People according to what is prescribed in the Article, and that they will impugn in their Books and Sermons the Doctrine which you reject. Who sees not, saith he, that this is making the Church like unto that Woman mentioned by Epiphanius, who put her Head-cloathes on her Feet, and her Shoes on her Head? I mean, that you set up such to Command in your Church, that ought to Obey, and submit Superiors to the Jurisdiction of Inferiors: You will by this means open a Door to all the Heresies in the World, and utterly subvert the Authority of the Church. You will trample under Foot the Respect due to Jesus Christ and his Ministry. Remember that such a Sacrilege has always drawn along with it, the Anger and Vengeance of God Almighty, on Kings and private Persons, who have dared to commit them. The Cardinal brings in afterwards a great number of Historical Facts, to prove that Lay-men ought not to meddle with Matters concerning Religion, and that the Article of the Third Estate was about a Theological Tenet, and not a meer Question concerning either the State or Politicks. To dispute, says he, whether the Power of the Keys extends so far, as to excommunicate such who freely and voluntarily Obey Princes, that are Apostates or Heretics; and whether the Church can absolve Sub-

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Subjects from their Allegiance to a Prince, who breaks the Oath he has taken to God and his People, to maintain the Christian and Catholick Religion; this is examining Questions that are meer Theological.

The Learning which *du Perron* shewed, and the Figures of Rhetorick he employed so lively in his Speech, were usefull on such an Occasion. The Third Estate took upon them only to advise the King to make a Law for securing his Person, and preserving his Sovereign Authority, and where is the Crime, where the Sacrilege in all this? The comparison of the Woman mentioned by *Epiphanius*, was very mean and impertinent, unbecoming the Character of a Cardinal, and unworthy of being quoted before a learned and polite Assembly; but I do not here take upon me to remark the Puerilities of that Speech, having more serious and important Things to consider. Indeed the Sovereign Princes that are under the Obedience of the Pope are very much to be pitied, and their Slavery is excessively great. They cannot without making themselves guilty of Sacrilege, require of their Subjects to swear, that they shall not teach, that the Pope and Council have no Authority to deprive Kings of their Crowns, nor to absolve their Subjects from their Oath of Fidelity, whenever the Pope and his Clergy shall think fit, right or wrong, to condemn a King as an Heretick, and an Enemy of the Church; but let us leave it to those

1613. those Princes, who are willing to submit to this ridiculous Yoak, to consider, how they are degraded by Superstition, and to what Danger both their Lives and States are thereby exposed.

Had not Pope *Innocent XI.* been afraid of exasperating a proud and powerful Monarch, 'tis likely that, according to the avowed Maxims of his Predecessors, he would have condemned as *Heretical* the Propositions of the Clergy of France, in the Year 1612. And had *Lewis XIV.* presumed to maintain his Declaration, which order'd that the Doctrine contained in the Propositions of the Clergy, should be taught in all the Universities of his Kingdom, *Innocent XI.* according to the Principles of Cardinal *du Perron*, highly approved of by the Nobility, and maintained by all the Deputies of the Clergy, in the Assembly of the Estates-General in the Year 1614, might have excommunicated the French King as a promoter and favourer of *Heretie*, or at least a declared Schismatick, and absolved all the French Roman Catholicks from the Oath of Allegiance they had taken to *Lewis XIV.* The Endeavours of that Prince would have concerned Faith more than by *Accident*, and would have put France in danger of losing the Catholick Religion, by means of a Schism from the Holy See. When I do afterwards consider in what manner his Majesty receded, I am tempted to believe, that some honest Man opened his Eyes at last, and being bet-

better instructed in the Obedience that he owed to the Pope, he consented that his Clergy should retract the Errors they had Taught, and that the Edict he had given without a due Consideration, should not be strictly observed according to the Tenor thereof: The Successors of *Innocent XI.* in Consideration of so Praise-worthy a Treatment shewed in return thereof as great a Condescension, and did not insist on the King's rescinding by an Authentick Act, the Declaration he had published, neither on the Parliaments of *France* their revoking the several Decrees they had given in favour of the Propositions of the Clergy.

The Cardinal has reason in asserting that it is a constant and generally received Truth, that the Subjects of a Prince who does openly violate the Oath he has taken to his People, may be freed from their own; but it does not appertain to the Clergy, to examine whether the Subjects are in that case or no: It belongs to the Body of the Nation lawfully assembled to judge thereof according to the Rules of natural Equity, the Precepts of the Gospel and the Fundamental Laws of the Civil Society. *Iesu Christ* was so far from conferring upon Bishops and other Ministers the Power of pronouncing, that such and such a Sovereign was fallen from his Divinity, and that his Subjects were no longer bound to obey him, that on the contrary, he does expressly Command his Disciples to obey

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obey those Princes whom they found established by Order of Divine Providence, so long as the Body of the Nation owns them for their lawful Sovereigns. It was for this reason that the Apostles submitted to *Nero*; that the Christians of the fourth Century obeyed *Julian the Apostate*, and that the Catholicks of that, and the succeeding Age, continued faithful to the *Arian* Kings and Emperors.

To answer the Objection drawn from the Fidelity, which the Primitive Christians kept to Idolatrous, Apostate, and Heretical Princes, *du Perron* lays down a Principle very dangerous in its Consequences. There is a great deal of difference, says he, between the Pagan Emperors of the Primitive Age of the Church, and such Princes who now should turn Apostates, or Hereticks. The former had not as yet paid Homage to Jesus Christ: They had not bound themselves to their Subjects, by mutual and reciprocal Oaths, to live and dye in the Christian Religion; but the latter having submitted both their Scepter and Crown to him who styles himself the King of Kings; they render themselves unworthy of the Sovereignty, by rebelling against him, and by violating the Oath they had made to serve him faithfully. If the Missionaries of the Church of Rome should preach before the Emperor of China, and other Infidel Princes, that so soon as they have imbraced the Christian Religion, a certain Bishop in the West, or his Prelates, assembled in Council, has Power

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Power to declare them deprived of their Crowns, and their Subjects absolved from their Oaths they have taken to them, if they refuse to acknowledge the Primacy and Superiority of the Pope, and leave the Clergy in Possession of certain Priviledges which they claim by a Divine Right; or if they should countenance any Opinions which the Pope and his Bishops would please to condemn as *Heretical*; if the Missionaries of *Rome*, I say, should Preach such a Doctrine as this, would any body believe that the Infidel Princes would willingly be inclined to turn *Christians*? So true is it, that there is nothing that would be so effectual to stop the Progress of Christianity, as the Principles of the *Romish* School. Alas! We hear sometimes that some Protestant Princes incline to embrace the *Papist* Religion upon political Considerations; but let them think of it seriously: For is there any reason in the World so pressing, as to ingage any Sovereign Prince that is wise and judicious, to enter into a Communion, the chief of which boasts, that he has received from *Jesus Christ* himself so monstrous a Power over crowned Heads and their Subjects?

The most sensible of those who heard the *Third Inconvenience* which he mentioned, was ^{convenience} _{proposed by} _{du Perron,} the weakest part of his Harangue, and it must be owned his reasoning, seemed to them to be pretty just. *The Article*, says he, *throws us into a manifest and incurable Schism;*

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Schism;

1615. Schism; for how can we swear that the Pope and the other Parts of the Catholick Church, hold a Doctrine which is contrary to the Word of God, impious and detestable? This is to renounce our Communion with the Apostolick See, and other Countries which are in the same Principles: This is to strike them all with that Anathema, which the Article abounds out against the Doctrine condemned herein with execration. There was but one thing to answer to it, and that was, that in this case, the Pope himself would be the Author of the Schism in opposing the Truth, and this was the Answer which some Holy Bishops of the Primitive Times returned to the Pope, who had excommunicated them without sufficient Causes. But if it be true, adds the Cardinal, That the Defenders of the Opinion which is contrary to that contained in the Article, maintain an impious and detestable Doctrine, the Pope then hath not for this long time been the Head of the Church, nor the Vicar of Jesus Christ. But he is an Heretick, he is the Antichrist. The other Christians in his Communion, no more belong to the mystical Body of our Saviour; they are Members of Antichrist. This being granted, where then remains the Catholick Church? In France? That cannot be said with any colour of Truth, seeing all the French Divines have for these several Ages past, taught the Doctrine condemned now in this Article. We must then give a Bill of Divorce to the Gallican Church which has proceeded so. We must dig out of their Graves

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so many Divines, who either were born in France, or Wrote or Taught therein, as St. Thomas, St. Bonaventure, and a world of others. We must burn their Bones upon the Altar, as Josias burnt those of the false Prophets in his Time . But once more, Where was the Church all this while ? In the Wilderness of the Apocalyps ? 'Tis in vain therefore for us to oppose with so much warmth, and heat the Doctrine of the Hereticks concerning the Invisibility of the Church. Let us yield unto them the Victory, and lay down our Arms before them : What greater Advantage can we give to Heresie, than to own that the Church is become several Ages past the Kingdom of Antichrist, and the Synagogue of Satan ? We supply our Adversaries with invincible Arguments to overthrow the Doctrine of Transubstantiation, Auricular Confession, and several other Articles of our Faith, if we come once to agree that the Church, which has thus long deceived them, instead of being the true Spouse of Jesus Christ, was become the Harlot of Antichrist. This way of reasoning seem'd very close and pressing, to many of the Hearers, and they began to look one upon another as it were with great surprize. For my part I own, that I could never apprehend how it could be sincerely answered, I mean, in the Principles of the Church of Rome. If the Gentlemen of the Assembly of the Clergy of France in the Year 1682, are willing also to assert their four Propositions, I leave it to them to extricate themselves out of these Difficulties,

1615. for I can perceive no Medium in this case: Let them give over their System of the Infallibility of the Church, or else let them in good earnest acknowledge that the Pope and all those of their Communion, have held and maintained for this long time, as certain and indisputable some Doctrines manifestly contrary to what Jesus Christ and his Apostles have Taught. If this Harangue of *du Perron* did not deserve to be preserved in the Archives of the Clergy, sure I am that certain decisions of modern Councils, and sacred Decretals of Popes, did less deserve a place in the Body of the Canon Law. I shall not enlarge on the fourth and last Inconvenience, which the Cardinal represented to the Third State: *The Measures*, said he unto them, *That you intend to take for the Security of the Persons of Kings, are not only useless, but likewise pernicious.* I have already mentioned the reason upon which his assertion was grounded, and discovered the falsehood thereof, which was, that the Anathema's and Thunders of the Church are sufficient of themselves, to prevent any Villain that should be tempted to Assassinate a Sovereign Prince. The Conclusion of the Speech was Pathetical, for the Cardinal recollected whatever he had said that was moving, and insinuating. Such as would not suffer themselves to be bubbled by his fine Words, Laught at this extravagant way of arguing, which *du Perron* opposed to *Buchanan*, and the Author of a Book published

*The Conclusion
of the Cardi-
nal's Speech.*

lished under the seditious Name of *Brutus*, 1615. who maintains, that if a Prince did not keep to what he had promised by the solemn Oath, he took at his Accession to the Crown, his Subjects had Right to take up Arms against him, and choose another King. Those Writers, said the Cardinal, do not consider that there is a great deal of Difference between transgressing or infringing an Oath, and destroying it. Frailty and Passion sometimes put Princes upon doing Things contrary to their Oaths, and it would be very hard and unreasonable, that Subjects should ipso facto, think themselves freed from the Oaths they had taken unto him; but if a Prince destroys his Oath, that is, if after he hath taken an Oath to do Justice to his People, he should take another quite contrary to the former, that is, unjustly to oppose his Subjects; in this case, says he, a King should renounce his Dignity, by protesting that he would not keep the Conditions for which Kingship was established. This case appeared every way very ridiculous and metaphysical: for the greatest Tyrant in the World, will never be so mad as to take such an Oath. Wicked Princes affect more than others, to say that they will do their People Justice, and make them happy. This is not a fit Place to enquire what is the true Hypothesis of Buchanan and Brutus. If those Authors pretend that Subjects may lawfully take up Arms against their Kings, so soon as out of Imprudence Heat or Passion, they shall have

1615. done any thing contrary to their Oaths, they are to be rejected with Scorn and Indignation. Such Principles as these, are fit only to bring all the States in the World into Disorder and Confusion; but if a Prince will after serious and mature Deliberation, apply himself to overthrow the essential Constitution of the Government in his Kingdom: If he endeavour all he can to enslave his People, and render them miserable; such a Prince, I say, does effectually destroy his Oath, what Protestations soever he outwardly makes, that he intends to keep it, and consequently his Subjects may lawfully use the Liberty which the Law of Nature gives them, and repel force by force.

*The Answers
of the Pres-
sent Miron to
the Cardinal's
Speech.*

*Mercure
Francois.
1615.*

Du Perron having concluded his Speech, with a Desire that the Affair of the Article might be left to the Ecclesiastical Chamber, and that the Third State would please to raise it out of their Cabier, Miron answered the Cardinal with a great deal of Courage, though otherwise he testified a great Regard for the Clergy, and shewed in few Words the Reasons which had induced the Third State to draw up this Article so much now in Question. The Death of the two late Kings, said he, having been preceded by the publishing of certain Books, the Authors of which in order to make their Court to the Pope, pretend to submit this Kingdom to a Power Spiritual, all the Corporations of this City assembled together, unanimously desired both in Writing, and by Word

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Word of Mouth, that the States-General would take Care of Preserving the Kingdom, and the King's Person: Thus have we been moved to draw up this Article, and this has been done without the Privacy or Participation of any Protestant. We should never have thought of it, had we not been induced to it by the Writings of some Monks, who instead of Praying to God for Kings, and by an exact Conformity to their Rules, drawing down the blessing of God on Catholick Countries, spent their Time in composing such Seditious Books, as are sufficient to put the Kingdom into a flame. Miron did not think fit to dispute whether the Doctrine contained in this Article was a Doctrine of Faith, or no: The Question was too nice, I suppose, says he, that this is only Problematical, and if so, we may then lawfully take what Part we think best, and most conformable to the Word of God. The Gentlemen of the Clergy, whom his Majesty has gratified with rich Benefices, ought at least to pay this Acknowledgment for them, as to maintain that his Crown is Independent on the Pope: For after all, whose Vicar does the Successor of St. Peter pretend to be, unless of him, who refused to be Judge between two Brothers, who would not agree about the Partition of their Paternal Estate? Miron, having used some Arguments to prove that Kings owe no Subjection to the Ministers of the Church, but in such things as are purely spiritual, concludes that for his part he could see no Danger, that the King should

1615. should oblige all Persons that held any Rank in his Dominions, to promise upon Oath, to maintain that his Crown is absolutely Independant on all Ecclesiastical Powers, and that Popes and Councils cannot deprive him thereof upon any pretence whatsoever.

*Complaints of
the Clergy
against a Decree of the
Parliament
of Paris.*

*Mercure
francois.*

1615.

The French Clergy were so very proud of their pretended Victory over the Third State, that they flattered themselves they should be able to carry every thing before them. Mary de Medicis shewed a blind Obedience to the Commands of the Pope, and her Majesty paid a greater deference to the Insinuations of the Ministers and Pensioners of the Court of Madrid, than to the wholsom Counsels of the disinterested French. These false Politicks of the Queen compleated the Pride and Insolence of the Clergy, who endeavoured to improve to their own Advantage such a favourable juncture as this. The next Day after the Speech of Cardinal du Perron, they resolved to complain in a more solemn manner against the Decree of the Parliament of Paris. It is, said they, *an unwarrantable Encroachment over the Liberties of the States-General*: *Have we not been called to advise the King what we should think most convenient for the Good of Religion and the Kingdom?* They ceased not also exclaiming, that under the specious Pretence of asserting the Rights of the Crown, and taking care of the Person of the Princes, the Magistrates entrenched upon the Spiritual Power of the

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the Church, and upon these and other Considerations it was resolved, that the Cardinal, Prelates and other Clergy-Men of the Second Order, should repair in a Body the same Night to the *Louvre*, and desire Audience of the King. They obtained the same, and complained in bitter Words against the Parliament, for having presumed to restrain the Liberty of the States-General, and to hinder them from debating on certain Articles; therefore they humbly desire his Majesty to interpose his Authority, and stop the Execution of that Decree. The King, who before-hand, had been informed of their Request, was advised to answer them in very few Words, that he would acquaint his Council with it. The Cabal of the Bigots had extolled Cardinal *du Perron* up to the Skies, insomuch, that he was grown so proud with the Incense they offer'd to him, as to think the Cause of the Church could not be well defended but either by his Mouth or his Pen; and therefore being persuaded that the Cardinal *du Sourdis* had not said enough to make their Majesties, and the Princes and Lords who were present at the famous Audience, sensible of the Justice of the Complaints of the Clergy, he offer'd to speak upon the same Subject, and added some Reasons which he thought weighty, to what his Colleague had said before: But he was laught at as a vain Declaimer, who pretended to know every thing, but who seldom argued well, unless

1615. in a heat, when he spoke without thinking, in Favour of the Party he had a mind to oppose.

The Speech of assembled on the fourth of Januari, to advise about the most proper means for composing the differences between the Clergy and the Third Estate and the Parliament. The Prince of Conde came to the Louvre, with a Speech he had prepared on that Subject, But instead of defending the Third Estate and the Parliament, whose help he wanted to support his Party, which the Court weakened every Day, he spoke more like an ignorant Divine than an able Politician, of an affair, which he himself look'd upon, as the most Important that had been debated these hundred Years before, in the Council of the Kings of France.

Mercure
Francois.
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That the Pope being the suprem Sheperd of the Flock of Jesus Christ, Kings ought to shew as much Submission to the Spiritual Power of that Pontif, as the meanest of their Subjects! An Excommunication justly thundered out at Rome against you, laid he to young Lewi, could deliver your Soul unto Satan, cut you off from the Communion of the Church; and, in a Word, would deprive you even of the Priviledge of entring your own Chappel. When a Prince shall take upon him, to talk of Divinity, he ought to have that wise Precaution, as first to be well instructed by Men of Reading, Moderation and true Judgment; and had

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had Conde followed this Rule, and better chosen his Doctors than he did, they would have told him, that according to the Opinion of the ablest French Divines, and the ancient Disciples of the Church, the Bishop of Rome is not the universal Bishop of the World; and that it does not belong to him to decide, whether a Man living in a distant Country from Rome, ought to be deprived of the use of Sacraments, and cut off from the Communion of the Church. We learn in History that *Theodosius* was obliged to do publick Penance for the Massacre committed by his Orders in the Town of *Theffalonice*; but now did the Pope deprive him of the use of Sacraments? No, Sr. *Ambrose*, Bishop of *Milan*, where *Theodosius* at that time kept his Court, was the only Person who acted in this Business, and the Pope was no ways consulted on that Occasion. He had no Right to Excommunicate any Person whatsoever out of his Diocess of *Rome*. The President *Miron* shewed himself better acquainted with the Rights of Princes, and the Power of Popes, when he maintained against *Catdinal du Perron*, that the Bishop of the Capital City of the Kingdom of France, is the true Bishop and Pastor of the Kings of France; and that if they submitted to the Pope in spiritual things, it was, because they were pleased in some matters to shew their Respects and Defence to the Apostolick See.

Neither

Neither did Conde succeed better when he undertook to settle the Sovereign Authority of the King in temporal things. You are to be obeyed, said he to his Majesty, though you should be either an Heretick or an Infidel, and those who should refuse upon that Account to acknowledge you, and pay you Tribute, would neither follow the Precepts nor the Example of Jesus Christ and his Apostles. The Saviour of the World Commands us to pay Tribute to a Pagan Emperor: He submitted himself to a Pagan Magistrate. St. Paul did the like, for the Scripture makes mention of his appealing to Nero. 'Tis true, that Jesus Christ, the Apostles, and Primitive Christians, obeyed Idolatrous, Apostate, and Heretick Princes, so long as the Body of the Roman Empire acknowledged them for their lawful Sovereigns; but perhaps his Highness affected through an unworthy piece of Flattery, to be ignorant of true Politicks, insinuating that a Nation who has made the Preservation of the Christian Religion one of the chief Articles and Foundations of their Confederacy, ought to continue lawful to their Prince, altho' he should turn Apostate or Heretick. I would not be misunderstood, as if I did approve of the proceedings of the League against Henry the Fourth, and the Prince of Conde. Those Princes could be charged with no other Errors, but that of having joyned with many good Christians both in France and other Parts, who demanded a Reformation of such Abuses.

1615.

buses as had crept into the publick Worship and Doctrine ; and they offered to refer the Determination thereof to a free and Christian Council. That of *Trent* had already pronounced their Opinion therein, I own, but were not the Decrees of that irregular Assembly evidently null and void ? *Henry the Fourth*, and the Prince of *Conde*, could not therefore be lawfully excluded from the Crown, upon account of their refusing to submit to the decisions of a Council, where the Pope and his Creatures were both Judge and Party.

The conclusion of the Prince's Speech was as weak and pitiful as the beginning of it : For after he had commended the Zeal of the Third Estate and the Parliament, for preserving the Rights of the Crown, and taking care of the safety of the King's Person, at a time wherein that precaution was necessary by the Confession of his Highness himself, he was of Opinion, that the King ought to forbid the Clergy and the Third Estate, not to dispute any longer on the controverted Article, but that he should be judge of that Matter himself, and at the same time hinder the publishing of the Decree of the Parliament, to satisfie the Clergy and Nobility, who complained that they too much entrenched on the Liberty of the Estates-General. This was giving up the Cause to the Clergy, and exposing the Third Estate and the Parliament to the insults of an Assembly of ignorant and proud Clergymen,

men, who would sacrifice every thing to the Pope. The Court of Rome and the Cabal of the Bigots, whom the Prince had taken care as he thought, not to displease, were however very angry with him, for his undertaking to justify what France had done against Pope Boniface VIII. under the Reign of Philip the Fair; and, for having commended the Prudence of the Chancellor de L' Hospital, who caused a solemn Decree to be pronounced against Tanquerel, a Bachelor of the Sorbonne, for publishing some *Thesis* contrary to the Liberties of the Gallican Church. And on the other side, the Third Estate and the Parliament were fully convinced, that they had no longer any thing to hope for, from a Prince so weak and so little understanding wherein his true Interests consisted.

*The Clergy
drew up an
Article for the
security of the
Lives of Prin-
ces.*

*Mercure
Francois.
1615.*

Politicks obliged the Clergy to shew at least some Zeal for the safety of the Person of a Prince, whose Father had been basely assassinated by a consequence drawn from the Doctrine, which the Third Estate desired to condemn; and therefore to dazzle the World in some manner, they drew up an Article against those who should maintain, that it is lawful upon certain cases to conspire against the Lives of Princes, and the Decree of the Council of Constance, whereby this pernicious Doctrine was condemned, was tack'd to the Article of the Clergy. They desired also that the King would be pleased to press

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press the Pope, that this dictision might be revived and published *de novo*, by an express Order from his Holiness. The Court of *Rome* being satisfied with the unanimous oppositions, which the Clergy and Nobility of *France* made to the designs of the Third Estate, who has a great mind to bring down the Pretensions of Popes over the Temporalities of Princes, *Paul* the 5th, willingly and fully consented to declare, that it was not lawful to kill Kings, provided they left him in the Possession of the Power to destroy them when-ever he pleased, and to declare them *Hereticks*, or *Enemies to the Church*. The Ecclesiastical Chamber ordered that the new Article should be communicated to the Nobility and Third Estate, and that they should be desired to concur with them in making fresh Complaints against the Decree of the Parliament of *Paris*. *Armand John du Plessis*, Bishop of *Lusson*, who made some Years ago so great a Figure in the World, under the Name of *Cardinal de Richelieu*, and the Coadjutor of *Lettoure*, were sent with this Message to the House of the Nobility.

The Clergy never found more docile and submissive Creatures than those good Gentlemen, who would have thought themselves guilty of an unpardonable Sin, if they had not religiously and entirely obeyed the Voice of their Guides and Pastors. They promised to nominate as many Deputies as they pleased out of their Body to join

1615.

joyn with them, in order to complain against the Parliament ; and as to the Article it self the President answered only *pro forma*, the House would consider of it. The Clergy returned their hearty Thanks to the Nobility for their ready Compliance, and no less than this could be due to the deference, those civil and obliging Gentlemen had shewn them.

The Third State were not so easily choufied, and the insinuating Cajolements of *Dinet*, Bishop of *Macon*, who had been sent to them, were not able to oblige them to give their Consent to the Article of the Clergy, and to join with them against the Parliament.

They sent Word to the Clergy, that the Third Estate would in few Days consider of the Article presented unto them, and that they thought they could not reasonably complain of the Parliament, till they had seen their Arrest. The most judicious part of the Deputies of the Third Estate exclaimed loudly against the base and unworthy Conduct of the Clergy. Do these People, said they, whom the King has loaded with Benefits, believe to require sufficiently the same in renewing the Decree of a Council whose Authority is not throughly established at the Court of Rome ? Is not the Preservation of the Sovereign Power of the King, very near as precious to all true French Men, as the Security of his Person ? Cardinal Du Perron has had the Confidence to upbraid us in our Face, that we imbrace the Doctrine of Cal-

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Calvin and his Disciples, as if one cannot maintain that the Church has no Power on the Temporals of Kings without becoming an Heretick: Would to God that Calvin and his Followers were as right in every other Point. The Hereticks cover with Siame the Prevarications of the Clergy: It becomes ill Du Perron to come and Preach to us here the Maxims of the League. If we believe him, Sixtus V. and his Successors were in the right, when they declared that the late King had forfeited his Title to the Crown, and forbid the French Nation upon Pain of Excommunication to own him for their lawful Sovereign.

On the 5 of January, the Cardinal of Sourdis, Du Perron, Rochefoucaut and Bonzi attended by a great Number of Bishops and Clergy-men of the second Order, and likewise by the Deputies of the Nobility, had another solemn Audience of the King in the Presence of the Queen, several Princes, the Officers of the Crown, the Chancellor and some Councillors of State. *Miron, Bishop of Angers, spoke in their name, and made new Complaints against the Arrest of the Parliament, as an unwarrantable Encroachment on the Liberty and lawful Authority of the States-General. He added some Remonstrances on four or five Heads, the more material of which related to the Preservation of the Spiritual Power of the Church, which those Gentlemen take care to enlarge as much as possible. Every thing would have by a strange Me-*

*The King calls before him the
Dispute about the Article of
the Third State
and suspends
the execution
of the Arrest
of the Parliament.*

*Mercure
Francois.*

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Metamorphosis, become Spiritual a long time ago, if People had taken their Word for it, and had made no Opposition. *Miron* desired the King would forbid his Parliaments for the future, to make any Invasion of the lawful Authority of the Church. One would think that the French Clergy groaned at that time under an unjust Oppression ; but what is their Spiritual Power they make so much Noise of ? It lies in the Preaching of the Word of God, and the Administration of his Sacraments, for they are established for that alone ; now have Kings and Magistrates ever undertaken to deprive them of the Exercise of those two Functions ? As the Cabal of the Pope and Bigots prevailed at Court, they had prepared young *Lewi* to answer the Bishop of *Angers*, that with the Advice of his Council, he would take care to remedy what had been remonstrated unto him, and the very next Day his Majesty sitting in Council with the Queen Mother, the Princess of the Blood, the other Princes, Dukes, Peers, Officers of the Crown and his Councillors of State gave an Arrest, declaring, that for good and weighty Considerations he thought fit to call before him the Differences which had happened between the three Orders of the Estates of this Kingdom, concerning an Article proposed in the House of the Third Estate. The King ordered likewise, that the execution of the Arrest given by the Parliament, relating to the dispute between the three Houses, should be superseded, and

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and a Letter was immediately sent to the Parliament of Paris, to通知 what his Majesty had been pleased to order in his Council. Those Magistrates were mightily surprised at the Proceedings of the Court, and inquired of each other what could be the good and weighty Considerations, which had induced an imprudent Queen, deceived by the Artifices of the Minister, and Creatures of the Pope, to Sacrifice some Subjects and Magistrates, who had nothing in view but the Preservation of the Person and Power of the King, to a Clergy, whose only aim was to raise the Authority of the Pope on the Ruins of that of his Majesty, and enlarge their own Jurisdiction to the Prejudice of that which the King gives to his Parliaments. What Opinion, said they, ought we to have of the Princes, Officers of the Crown, and Ministers, who have not had the Courage to oppose that Unjustice? What could they fear in suffering the Third Estate and the Parliament to go on? To displease the Pope and the Clergy, but what harm can they do us? The Nobility has concurred with the Clergy, without pondering the Consequences of that Step, and no doubt they would never have consented thereto, had they not been surprised and imposed upon by the Emissaries of the Court.

Howsoever advantagious this Arrest was to the Clergy, they were not satisfied with it, which redoubled the Indignation of all good Men against them. They would not suf-

The Clergy is
not satisfied
with the Ar-
rest given by
the King in
Council.
Mercure
Francois.
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1615. suffer the King to take any Cognizance of the Article proposed in the Chamber of the Third State, nor that he should make any new Law for the Security of his Person, and the Preservation of his Supreme Power. This appeared unto them as a criminal Invasion of the Authority of the Church. The most zealous of the Tribe clamoured in the House of the Clergy against the King's Council. *We must*, said they, *make a third Remonstrance to his Majesty, and tell him frankly that we are resolved to supersede all the Affairs that are before the States, till we have obtained Justice on the grievance we have complained of.* I would commend the Zeal and Courage of the Clergy if they had had a better Cause, and I think that they ought to be excused on this Occasion, had they expressed as much Zeal for the good of the Kingdom and the ease of the People, as for maintaining the unjust Usurpations of Popes, and what these Gentlemen are pleased to call the Church. They act and speak with an extraordinary Vigour in favour of the imaginary Right which they ascribe to their Councils, or to their Pope, of absolving from their Oath of Allegiance the Subjects of such Princes, whom the Council or the Pope is pleased to declare Hereticks and Enemies of the Church: But if the Matter in Question relates to the maintaining of the just Liberties of the People, and easing them of the excessive Taxes of which they are over-loaded, the Cler-

Clergy keep a profound Silence, and do not give themselves the least Trouble therein ; nay, they basely betray the Interests of those who have elected them to be their Representatives in that Assembly, as soon as the Court sheweth them a slight Gratuity, though at some distance. The most moderate amongst them represented that the Arrest proclaimed against, was advantageous enough to the Clergy, and that if it was not altogether answerable to their Demands, the King did at least give them very fair Words, and therefore they proposed that the House would send some Deputies to Remonstrate to Chancellor *Silleri*, what was wanting in the Arrest, and let him know, that the Ecclesiastical Chamber intended to make a third Representation to the King, and even to stop all other Affairs till they had obtained Satisfaction. That Motion was approved, and five Bishops were appointed to acquaint *Silleri* with the Intentions of the Clergy. *Pericard*, Bishop of *Auranches*, their Spokesman, begun his Discourse with the Thanks of his Order for the particular Care the Chancellor had taken of maintaining the Rights of the Church on this Occasion ; but the Conclusion of his Speech was not so mild and civil as the Beginning. The Bishop told him roundly that the Clergy would stop all Business till the King had commanded the Third State to suppress their Article, and forbidden all Parliaments and other Superior Courts to presume for the future

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ture to debate any thing relating to the Doctrine of the Church, and to pronounce any Judgment on any Questions about the same; and in particular to meddle with the Authority of the Pope, his Majesty reserving to himself to treat that Point with him, with the Advice of the Prelates of his Kingdom when Occasion should offer. Pericard deminded likewise that Parliaments should be forbidden to renew their Arrests formerly given on this subject, and order the Execution thereof; concluding, that they desired the King to redress all the grievances which had been remonstrated unto his Majesty by the Bishop of Angers on the Part of the Clergy.

That bold and proud step of the Clergy put the third Estate and the Parliament in a flame, and they blamed very much the Chancellor for having not returned an Answer suitable to the Insolence of the Demand of the Prelates. The Fear Silleri was under of saying or acting any thing contrary to the Queen's Pleasure, appeared unworthy of the first Magistrate of France, who instead of rejecting with a generous Indignation the presumptuous Demand of the Clergy, used a civil and obliging Stile. He assured the Prelates that he had spared nothing on this Occasion, Wherein, said he very foolishly, the Religion, the Authority of the Church, and the Satisfaction of the Clergy are concerned; but he represented afterward that, in the present juncture of Affairs, the King had

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had granted more than he ought to have done according to the Rules of strict Prudence, and that it was impossible to give an entire Satisfaction to the Clergy without exasperating the Third State and the Parliament. He assured him of the good Intentions of his Majesty for the Church, and that having called the Affair of the Article of the Third Estate before him, his Majesty would decide it in such a manner as should turn to the Advantage of the Clergy. And as to their Threats of superseding all other Affairs, he desired the House to take a second time that Affair into their Consideration, and likewise the Inconveniences that might ensue thereof.

In the mean time the Article of the Several Books published about the Article of the Third Estate. Third State had been presented under the Title of *Fundamental Law*, and was publickly sold at Paris, and sent into all the Provinces of the Kingdom, and into Foreign Countries, where it was reported that the Roman Catholicks in France were strangely divided amongst themselves, about the Authority of the Pope. This made the Protestants hope, that that violent Dispute would not be easily made up. Savaron, Lieutenant-General of Clermont in Auvergne, and one of the Deputies of the Third Estate published two Treatises of the Sovereignty of the King, and another Member writ an Apology for the Article of the Third Estate. The Clergy did not want Authors for writing in their Defense, and

and several Manifesto's were published, wherein they represented to their own Advantage the Dispute between the Ecclesiastical Chamber and the Third State. James King of Great Britain, had so violent an Itch of writing, or at least of publishing Books under his Name, that he could not forbear to meddle in that Quarrel. His Majesty had some time before begun to dispute with Du Perron about the Primacy of the Pope, and some other controverted Points ; and as the Cardinal in his Speech had enveighed against the Oath of Allegiance in England, upon pretence that the Article of the Third State was an imitation thereof, King James thought he was obliged to vindicate what had been done in his Kingdom, and confute the Cardinal's Speech, and therefore a little Book came out intituled, *Declaration of the King of Great Britain for the Rights of Kings, and the Independency of their Crowns.*

Du Perron had been very respectful for King James, and carefully avoided Personal Reflections in opposing the Oath that Prince would compel his Roman Catholick Subjects to take. I Honour, said he, the profound Learning, the eminent Virtues, and other rare Qualities of the King of Great Britain, who shoud be an accomplished Prince, if he wanted not that of Catholick. His Majesty is a favourer and protector of learned Men in general. He causes the Muses to sit upon the Throne with him : For my part, I am very much beholden to the King of Eng-

England. He has been less jealous of his Rank than Alexander, who would not dispute the Prize in the olympick Games with any but Sovereigns; whereas his Majesty has done me the Honour to enter into a Dispute with me upon some Theological Questions. How acceptable soever that Flattery was to King James, that Prince used some Expressions which were not agreeable to the Cardinal, and being justly incensed against him for his submitting crowned Heads to the Jurisdiction of the Popes, he reproached him with bitter Words, the Whipping and Bastinado he had received at Rome, in the Name of Henry the 4th his Master.

The publishing of the Article of the Third State throughout Europe, and the Report of the division between the Roman Catholicks in France, about the Authority of the Pope, obliged the House of the Clergy to make a third Remonstrance to the King on the same Subject, and they chose again the Bishop of Angers to speak in the name of the House. They resolved also to have the Concurrence of the Nobility, and sent Lavalette Cornusson, Bishop of Vabres, and d'Elbene, Bishop of Albi, to desire the same. The Nobility agreed thereunto, but upon this Condition, that the Clergy should likewise joyn with them, and Demand the suppression of the Paulette. The Third State, said the Nobility, shew themselves obstinate against the other two Houses for no better Reasons, but for hindering by favour of that division, that we may not obtain the

*The New
Remonstrance
of the Clergy
and Nobility
to the King for
obtaining the
Suppression of
the Article of
the third State
and of the
Paulette.*

*Mercure
Francois*

1615. suppression of the Inheritance of their Places.

All those Gentlemen of the long Robe are in such fears, that they only seek to perplex Affairs, that the King not knowing how to satisfie the three Orders, may be at last compelled to dismiss the Assembly of the States General without granting any thing required of him. We must finish once for all the Affair of the Paulette, and after that the Gentlemen of the Third State will shew themselves more easie. The Nobility had better guesed, had they said, that the Court sow'd and kept up those divisions in the Assembly of the States General, that they might have a fair pretence to dissolve them without reforming any abuse, seeing the three Houses could not agree among themselves to demand the Suppression of any of those that are the most burthensom. The Clergy agreed to concur with the Nobility, and they were very glad of an Opportunity to make the Third State and the Parliament uneasy. The King gave no other Answer to the third Remonstrance of the Clergy, but that he would take care of those things when the Cahiers or general Demands of the States should be presented unto him. That general Answer did not satisfie the Clergy, who fancied that there was some Person of great Interest and Ability in the King's Council, who obstructed the Church in her Demands.

The Mareschal of Bouillon was chiefly suspected, and therefore Cardinal Du Perron said, *We challenge such of the King's Coun-*

Council who are not Catholicks, and humbly desire that his Majesty would not admit them therein, when the Church-Affairs are concerned. I would not have appeared therein, replied Bouillon, who knew very well that he alone was meant in that Request, had the Church been concerned in that Question; but seeing the Dispute relates to the King's Sovereignty, that Affair is merely Political. You do wisely Sir, said the Cardinal of Sourdis, in not meddling in a Point of Religion, but we maintain that what is contained in the Article of the Thir'd State is of that Nature. Could any thing more plainly discover the true Genius of the Clergy, than that Answer? For here is a Cardinal who maintains in the very Presence of his Prince, that the supream and independent Authority of Kings, being a Point wherein Religion is concerned, his Majesty cannot determine in his Council, that the Pope has no Right to deprive him of his Crown, whenever he will be pleased to declare him an Heretick. The Prince of Conde was not able to bear with the Insolence of Sourdis, and would make him sensible thereof; but the Cardinal slighting the Reproach of the Prince boldly maintained what he had before asserted. No doubt but the two Cardinals would have spoken with less Pride and Arrogancy, had they not been assured of the favour of Queen Mary of Medicis, who being always blind to the true Interest of her Son, promised to the Clergy,

1615. that some Expedient should be found out to satisfie them.

The King orders that the Article of the third State shew'd be strik out of the Cahier General

Mercure François

The Chancellor, Villeroy and Jeannin, were ordered to meet on the 14 of Janu-
ary at the Cardinal de Joyeuse's, to endea-
vour to find out a way of Accomodation,
and the Queen having been persuaded by
that Cardinal, that the greater Interest of
the Church concerned in the Affair, ex-
pressly recommended to the Ministers to
give Satisfaction to the Clergy and Nobil-
ity, who had been very serviceable unto
her in the Assembly of the States. There it
was agreed that the Printer of the said Ar-
ticle should be taken up and committed
Prisoner the same Evening; that the King
should not only call to himself the Affair
of the Article, but also that the said Article
should be rased out of the *Cahier or Ge-*
neral Petition of the Third State. And
lastly, that the Clergy should put their
complaint in the beginning of their own
Cahier, to which his Majesty should re-
turn a favourable Answer. The President
Miron was afterwards ordered to repair to
the *Louvre* with 12 Deputies of the Third
State, and the Queen having commended
the Zeal of their Chamber, for the Pre-
servation of the Person and Authority of
her Son, told them; *The Clergy makes such
Complaints against your Article of the Fun-
damental Law, that the King has thought
fit to call that Affair before him, and Com-
mands you to bring this Evening the said
Article unto him. In the mean time you may
assure*

assure your selves that all good Men will have cause to be satisfied with the Answer the King intends to make thereunto. The House of the Third State having been acquainted with the express Command of the King, resolved to obey; but to let the World see, that they did not recede from their Article, they entituled the Copy which was given to the King, *Extract of the Registers of the Third State, and the same was subscribed by their Greffier, as having compared the Copy with the Original,*

This being not what the Clergy desired, Miron, and the Presidents of each Government were again summoned on the nineteenth of the said Month to the Louvre, where the Queen commanded them in the King's Name, to strike the said Article out of the Cabier of the Third State. This new Order caused great Commotions in the House; for some were of Opinion that it ought to be obey'd without any delay, and others proposed that before they did it, they ought to make pressing Remonstrances to the King about the same. *The King is satisfied with our good Intentions, and the Zeal we have expressed on this Occasion, said the Deputies of the Government of Guienne; What can we desire more? What matter is it, that it should be at the head of our Cabier or no? This is but a formality.* The Deputies of Picardy interrupted them, tho' it was not their turn to Vote. *We cannot, said they*

1615. commend enough those who have drawn up the Article; our Opinion is, that it must not be rased out of our Cahier. 'Tis evident that some disaffected People taking Advantage of the Youth of the King, persuade his Majesty to do some things, the consequences of which he does not foresee. Let us make a mest humble Remonstrance to his Majesty, and desire that we may have the liberty to give him such Advices as we think mest necessary for the security of his Person, and the good of his State: Who is not sensible, that those who cross at present our Measures, are infected with the detestable Principle of the League, and are the new Disciples of those who seduced Barriere, Chastel and Ravaillac.

*Several Members of the Third State
opp. to the rasing out of the Article.
Mercury Francois.
1625.*

This Confusion in the House of the Third State lasted three Days, and perhaps they would never have receded, had not their President Miron yielded. One of the Deputies of Picardy moved that in so weighty an Affair, wherein the Independency of the Crown and the security of the King's Person were concerned, it was more fitting to Vote by Bailwick than by Governments; for, said he, The Provinces having not an equal Number of Deputies, it happens that that Province which has but four or five, has yet an equal Vote with another, which has thirty or forty Bailwicks. The Proposal appeared just to many, and had it been accepted by the House, the Article had not been blotted out of the Cahier; but Miron either being weary

weary of that long dispute, or afraid that if the King's Order was not obeyed, the Court would lay the whole blame thereof at his Door, managed that Point with so much dexterity, that the Proposal of voting by Bailwicks was dropt, and the State having voted by Provinces, it was resolved by the Majority of Voices, that the Article should be suppressed, and that the following Words should be put at the front of the Cabier instead of it. *The first Article has been already presented to the King by an Express Command of his Majesty, who has promised to return an Answer thereunto. We humbly desire his Majesty to remember it.* I must not forget to relate that one hundred or sixscore Deputies had the Courage formally to oppose that Resolution.

When I do seriously consider that difference which made so much Noise in Europe, I am tempted to say, that those good Men who so vigorously maintained the Article of the Third State, had no reason to appear so obstinate in that Affair. Their Zeal for the defence of Truth is indeed very commendable; but after all, seeing Sovereign Princes in the Pope's Obedience, are not willing to dispute with him, the Rights of depriving them of their Crowns in some certain Cases, I think we ought to let them alone. Why should we beat our Brains for preserving unto them an independency for which they care not themselves? When the Pope has deposed one or two of 'em, the others will

1615. come to themselves if they please. Kings in the Romish Communion will not displease the Pope, in asserting with too much Freedom this Sovereign Article: They think fit to keep in good terms with him by Political Motives, being perluaded that their Subjects will never fail to declare for them if ever the Holy Father should have a fancy to attack them. Now things being so, where would be the great Crime, if some Princes were justly punished for their mean and ridiculous Complaisance? Let the Pope deprive them if he will, why have they suffered him to feed himself with that Chymera, that he has a Right to use them so, whenever he shall think fit for the good of his Church? I will dare say, that the French Kings have deserved that their Subjects should give them up to the Discretion of the Pope. When they are afraid of the Thunders of the *Vatican*, they put the Parliaments in Action; they secure the Clergy; every one is free to attack the usurpations of *Rome*; but if any Accident falls out, which requires that the King should reconcile himself with the Pope, his Majesty does freely Sacrifice all those who have served him. They oblige them to recant what they have said, and writing or speaking any thing that may displease the Pope, becomes almost an unpardonable Crime. What a ridiculous Farce is This?

Paul

Paul V. look'd upon the Advantage 1615.
gain'd by the French Clergy and Nobility
as the greatest Victory that ever the Holy
See obtain'd over its Enemies. The Old
Pontiff was so well pleas'd therewith, that
he sent a Brief of Thanks to each of those
two Orders; and the same was deliver'd
unto them in the Month of February next
following in great Pomp and Ceremony.
The Pope extoll'd very much the *Wisdom*,
Piety and *Constancy* which the Clergy had
express'd in opposing a *Design* which was le-
vel'd against the *Apostolick See*: but he
puts still higher Compliments upon the
Nobility, who were commended for having
not degenerated from the Virtue of their An-
cestors, who had so often taken up Arms for
revenging the Injuries and Affronts offer'd
to the *Holy See*. I do not know what An-
swer the Nobility return'd to that civil
Compliment; but I am sure it ought to
have put them to the blush; and had they
preserv'd the generous Sentiments of the
Ancient Nobility of France, they could
not have read without Confusion the Brief
of an Arrogant Pope, who congratulated
their opposing that the Crown should be
declar'd independing of the spiritual Power
of the Pope as a Noble and Worthy A-
ction. This Acknowledgment of the
Pope will be an eternal Disgrace to the
Nobility, who assisted in the Assembly of
the States General in the Year 1615. The
Prince of Condé had judiciously represent-
ed in the King's Council, that in the

*Brief of the
Pope to the
Clergy and No-
bility of
France.
Merc. Fran-
cois. 1615.*

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time of Philip the Fair, The French Nobility writ to proud Boniface the VIII. That they professed to obey the King in every thing ; but that if Philip would submit his Temporal Power to the Pope, they would oppose it with all imaginable Vigour. The Answer of the Clergy to the Pope was as respectful and submissive as possible. They were exceedingly edify'd to have done any thing that might be acceptable unto his Holiness, whose great Affection and Goodness induc'd him to thank them for what they had done, tho' they had barely discharg'd the Duties which their Character does indispensably require from such who are honoured therewith. The glorious Testimony which your Holiness is pleased to give us, said they with a great Modesty, is not so much a Praise which we have justly deserved, as an Exhortation unto us to do well for the future. We return our most hearty Thanks for the Care your Holiness takes of the Church of this Kingdom : And we pray you to favour us constantly with your Affection, that we may the more courageously oppose the vain Efforts of the Enemies of the Faith. These honest Prelates did not foresee that their illustrious Successors should be included in the Year 1682 in the number of those Enemies of the Faith, who teach that Popes cannot in any case whatsoever dispose of the Crowns of Kings ; and that the French Clergy should one time disown the fine Harangue of Cardinal du Perron, and all the Proceedings of the

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the Clergy in the Assembly of the States 1615.
General in the Year 1615.

The Endeavours of the Clergy for obtaining the Suppression of Duels in France, were more approved by good Men than the extraordinary Pains they took for maintaining the unjust and chymrical Preensions of the Pope against the Interest of the King and State. Several Gentlemen, and even some Persons of the highest Quality having fought Duels near Paris, the Ecclesiastical Chamber resolved to make a Remonstrance to the King against that Disorder; and Fenouillet Bishop of Montpelier was appointed to make a Speech to the King on that Occasion. That Prelate could not have wish'd for a better Subject, and Opportunity to exert his Eloquence; but he wanted Discretion and Justness of Thought; besides that the Gusto of that Age was not extraordinary nice. Instead of a Discourse worthy of the Subject and the Gravity of a Prelate, he made an Amplification which smelt of the School-boy. Chancellor Sillery answer'd the Bishop with an Edict which the King had published two Years before against Duelling. *Show it, said he to Fenouillet, to your House, that they may examine whether there is any thing wanting therein, and his Majesty will favourably receive the Advice of the Clergy thereupon.* The Ecclesiastical Chamber having taken this same into their Consideration, drew up a particular Article, which having been

Remonstrance
and Article
of the Clergy
against duell-
ing.
Mercure.
Francois.
1615.

1615. been approved by the two other Houses, was inserted in the general Cahier of the three Orders. They desired among other things, That his Majesty would promise and swear upon the Faith and Word of a King, to grant no Pardon to any body whatsoever, nor remit any thing of the Penalties which the States desired should be inflicted on Duellists and their Seconds. That the Queen Mother would likewise take an Oath to countenance the Execution of the Orders that should be publish'd on that behalf : That the Princes of the Blood, the Dukes, and the Officers of the Crown, shou'd also swear never to make use of their Credit and Interest to obtain a Pardon for any Offender whatsoever : And lastly, that the Chancellour, the Magistrates of Parliament, and all other Officers should promise upon Oath to God and the King to obey without the least Contravention, the Edicts and Orders that should be publish'd upon the Representation of the States Generat.

Division be-
tween the
Three Orders
upon ac-
counts of an
Affair offer'd
to one of the
Deputies of
the third State
by one of the
Deputies of
the Nobility.
Merc. Fran-
cois. 1615.

This good Harmony between the three Orders was not of a long duration ; for on the first of February an unexpected Accident divided them as much as ever. Bonneval, one of the Deputies of the Nobility of the Upper Limosin, caned one Chauvaille, Lieutenant of Uzereche, one of the Deputies of the Third State for the Lower Limosin ; and the Third State having complain'd thereof to the King, his Majesty referr'd the Cognizance of that Affair to the Parliament. The Nobility

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resented that Proceeding, and complain'd to the Clergy against the Third State, for their having spous'd the Quarrel of a private Man, and addres'd the King thereupon, without acquainting the two other Orders with it, who might have friendly accommodated that Affair without troubling his Majesty with it, and contented the respective Parties. *Gelas* Bishop of *Agen*, was sent to notify to the Third State, that the Nobility desir'd the Concurrence of the Clergy for petitioning the King to call the Examination of that Affair before his Council, or refer it again to the States General to be there friendly made up : But *Ribier* Lieutenant of *Blois*, and five other Deputies of the Third Order, were sent to remonstrate to the Clergy, that one of the chief Cares of the Assembly of the States being to re-establish Justice, it would be of a fatal Consequence, if so great a Crime committed in the Capital City of the Kingdom, in sight of the King, the States General and the Parliament, shou'd remain unpunish'd. They own'd that if there had been nothing in the Case but a Misunderstanding between the two Houses for indiscreet or mis-interpreted Words ; or for any other slight Subject, it had been reasonable to have recourse to the Medication of the other Order to make up the Difference ; but that seeing a private Man had highly injur'd another, and violated the Safety of the States General, the

Third

Third Order hop'd that the Clergy would concur with them in the Prosecution of that Affair, to obtain a Satisfaction suitable to the Nature of the Crime. The Cardinal of *Sourdis*, Chairman of the Clergy for that Day, answer'd that the Ecclesiastical House being not thoroughly apprais'd of that Affair, had fear'd that a private Difference might occasion a Breach between the Nobility and the Third State, and to prevent any Mis-understanding, said he, and procure Peace, the Clergy have thought fit to interpose their Mediation. The Third State continu'd their Prosecution, and *Bonneval* having absconded, and not appearing to clear himself, the Parliament past a Sentence upon him, whereby he was condemn'd to be beheaded. The Arrest was posted up at the End of the Bridge of *St. Michael*.

Divisions betwixt the Queen and the Prince of Condé upon account of a Gentleman in the Queen's service, who was abus'd by order of the Prince.
Merc. Fran-
cois. 1615.

Another Affair happned four Days after the Difference I have just now related, which caused a great Noise at Court, in the Assembly of the States General, and in the Parliament, which was as follows: The Prince of *Condé* had had a Gentleman in his Service, call'd *Marcillac*, and another call'd *Rochfort*, who was one of the most intimate Confidants of the Prince; but the former left the Service of his Highness for a Place in the Queen's Family, either because it prov'd more advantagious to him, or else because *Rochfort* and he cou'd not well agree together. The Prince of *Condé* believing that *Marcillac* had

had betray'd his Secrets to the Queen, 1615.

commanded his Servants to beat him where-ever they shou'd meet him. *Rochfort* accepted that Commission, tho' unworthy of a Gentleman who has any sense of Honour and Virtue; and being attended by five Men on horseback, and as many on foot, fell upon *Marcillac* in the Street of St. *Honoré*, and abus'd him most sadly, wounding him in several places: The King and Queen being inform'd of the Affront offer'd to 'em in the Person of one of their Servants, sent for the Procurator-General of the Parliament, and commanded him to prosecute *Rochfort* to the utmost Rigour of the Law, as a base Assassin; but the Prince of *Condé* having notice of that Order, went the next day to the Council, and complain'd to the Queen against it. *I find it very strange*, said he, *that they pretend to deal with me as with the meanest Subject in the Kingdom*. *I own whatever Rochfort has done*: 'Tis by Order that *Marcillac* has been punish'd for his *Insolence and Infidelity*. *I have a better Opinion of your Heart*, reply'd the Queen; you would take upon your self the Crime of a Gentleman, that he may be protected from the Prosecution of Justice. They afterwards exchang'd some bitter Words; and the young King, whom they had pre-possest with Mistrust and Jealousies against the Prince, was going to tell him something very sharp; but the Queen had the Prudence to stop him, and prevent the Consequence

*Lettres &c
Memoirs de
M. du Plessis
Moral.
1615.*

1615. quence thereof. The Prince went out of the Council in a great Passion, and the King seem'd to take it ill from his Mother, that she should have hinder'd him from telling his Mind to his Highness.

That untimely Violence of the Prince of Condé compleated the Declension of his Interest; for since that time the States General had little or no Esteem for him. Queen Mary of Medicis improv'd that Affair as much as she could, and immediately sent to acquaint the Three Houses with it; and they were told in the Name of their Majesties, that they would never suffer that Great Lords, nor even Princes should make use of Violence and Force; and that the King look'd upon it as a necessary Duty to protect all his Subjects, and in particular his Servants. That good Design, either feign'd or real, was applauded by all the World; and the Three Orders heard with a just Indignation the Account that was given them of that Affair. Each of 'em resolv'd to go in a Body to the *Louvre*, and desire his Majesty to command the Magistrates to prosecute that Crime notwithstanding the Declaration made by the Prince of Condé. The Nobility offer'd in few Words their Services to his Majesty; but the Clergy always creeping and flattering, made elaborate Protestations of the Grief wherewith they had been affected on this Occasion, and assur'd the King of their Inviolable Resolutions to obey his Orders. *Jourdn,*
who

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who spoke for them, told afterwards the Queen, that his Order was mightily concern'd that the Prince of *Condé* had been wanting in the Respect he ow'd to her Majesty. *Miron*, President of the Third State, spoke with more Sense and Gravity than the Cardinal. That News, Sir, said he to the King, *has caus'd us the same Grief and Emotion that good Servants experience when they see that the Father of the Family is angry with his Children.* Cou'd *Miron* have chosen a turn more respectful for the King, and less injurious to the Prince?

In the meantime the Procurator General carried on his Prosecution against *Rochfort*, which oblig'd the Prince, who was resolv'd to save his Servant at any rate whatsoever, to present a Petition to the Parliament, wherein the Prince set forth the various Subjects of Displeasure his Highness had receiv'd from *Mircillac*, when he was in his Service; and declar'd that having commanded all his Servants to beat him, *Rochfort*, who had been the first who had met with him, was guilty of no other Crime but of having obey'd the Order of his Master. The Queen being afraid that that Declaration shou'd stop the Proceedings of the Parliament, sent for the Presidents of the Court, and gave a full Account of the Origin and Progress of that Affair; to let 'em see, that *Condé* sought only to protect *Rochfort* against the Prosecution of Justice, and that

1617. that they ought to have no regard to the petition of the Prince. For my part, I believe his Highness upon his own Word, but I wonder he should fancy that those of his Quality ought not to blush and be ashame'd to have order'd that a Man should be assassinat'd in the middle of a City. Does the Quality of Princes entitle them to use with Impunity their Inferiors as Dogs? Did *Condé* make any serious Reflections on what Men of Senie and Honour ought to think of the confession he made to the Three Orders of the Kingdom?

People are willing to allow Great Men the Distinction they enjoy in the Government, provided they will be so just as to take care of the preservation of it, and to keep the meanest sort of Men from being oppress'd by it. But these Gentlemen, out of a deplorable Blindness of their own, do fancy that they are advanc'd above others, purely from their own Merit, and only to receive the Homages and Compliments which they think are due to them from the common people. They value not Men's Lives a Rush, in counterballance to the satisfying of the least of their Passions.

The Parliament order'd a Warrant for the apprehending of *Rochfort*; and the Prince of *Condé*, who had unseasonably expos'd himself, was at last compell'd to open all the Doors of his House to the Officers

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Officers, who had express Orders from the Court to search it. This Submission to the Court the more easily inclin'd their Majesties to hearken to the humble Instances of Queen Margaret and the Countess of *Sauvigny* on the Prince of *Condé*'s behalf, who thereupon was allow'd to come to Court, and was there well receiv'd. *Mary de Medicis* being satisfied that she had pretty well mortified her secret Enemy, and made him sensible that he had not such great credit as he imagin'd, either in the Assembly of the States, or in the Parliament of *Paris*, behav'd her self as Princes commonly do in such cases ; for she troubled not her self any longer with the Baftinado that *Marcillac* had receiv'd for having perhaps serv'd her too well ; but *Rochfort* obtain'd an absolute Pardon, which was recorded by the Parliament without any Opposition from the abus'd Gentleman, who being prepossess'd with the false Maxims of the Nobility, design'd to take his Revenge for the Affront he had receiv'd. Wherefore so soon as *Marcillac* was cur'd of his Wounds, he challeng'd *Rochfort*, but was disappointed in his Design ; for the Prince of *Condé* forbid *Rochfort*, who was his domestick Servant, to accept of any Challenge from a Man whom he had not ill used, unless it was in obeying his Highness ; and so the Business was drop't.

The

*The Court
mighty
presses for the
dissolving of
the States
General.*

The History of Book VI.

The Division of the three Houses was the most favourable Juncture the Court could wish for to dismiss an Assembly, the several Members whereof were among themselves so much at variance, that it seem'd almost impossible for them to proceed unanimously, and agree upon the Matters that were necessary for the good of the Kingdom. The Queen and Ministers of State resolved as soon as ever they cou'd, to make their own Ends of it. Wherefore when young King Lewis had any Answer to make to the Remonstrances that were presented to him, care was taken to advise him still to tell the States, that they should forthwith present to him their Memorials. But for fear so great a Forwardness should be misconstr'd by the Prince of Condé's Party, who only sought to raise Suspicions and Jealousies, they failed not to flourish it up with the best Words they could. The King, said the dissembling Mary de Medicis, is as well affected as you can possibly wish him to be; and as for his being so very earnest with you for having you draw up your Memorials, it proceeds from his Impatience to content his Subjects, and so grant them their Demands. But the more penetrating Men mistrusted the Sincerity of her who was an Italian. 'Tis well known that Princes do promise wondrous things, when they are involved in Affairs they know not how to get out of; but afterwards will put what Construction they please

please upon their Promises, or at least dispense with the Performance of them, if they will not answer their Ends. Since the Maxims of Machiavel are practiced at the Court of France, Good Faith and Honesty are no longer known there; but the most pitiful and grossest Banterings in the World are impudently put upon one for the rarest Excuses. Dissimulation is a refined piece of Policy: And perfidiousness is covered with the equivocal and specious Name of *Interest of State*. The three Orders of the States which had their particular Designs, pretended that they understood not the pressing Sollicitations that were made them. Wherefore the Court was obliged to speak plain to them, and to tell them, that they should not defer any longer the drawing up their *Cahier*.

In pursuance of this the Mareschal *di Brissac*, who was sent by the King to the House of the Clergy, upon the Difference about the Article brought in by the Third State, declared there to them, that his Majesty had ordered him to exhort them to finish their Memorials, that so the Assembly might be dismissed. 'Tis to be feared, said *Briffac*, that the Provinces will complain of the slow Proceedings of the States. There are some unquiet Spirits that love to be fishing in troubled Waters, and are now clamouring, because of the long sitting of the Assembly. Wherefore 'tis convenient to put a stop to this extraordinary Commotion, and to restore Peace and Tranquillity in the Kingdom. A
Fort-

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Francis.
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Fortnight afterwards the Duke of *Ventadour* was sent Express to the three Houses, to prevail with them to make forthwith their *Cabier* ready to be presented to the King. In the former Assemblies, said he, the Ancestors of his Majesty demanded Money from their Subjects, but now 'tis not so. But the King contented with his own Revenue asks nothing from his People, but the Allegiance due to a Sovereign. And his Majesty is in great Expectation of an Opportunity, to give a favourable Answer to your Memorials, and shew some sensible Proofs of his Affection and Tenderness to all the Orders of his Kingdom. After this Motion there was no room left for a delay ; wherefore they set their Hands to Work without Intermission, to draw up their several Remonstrances. The House of the Clergy lured by the great hopes the Queen had given them, to keep them in an humble dependance upon the Court, flattered themselves that they should obtain a Reformation of the Kingdom according to their own Hearts. They were then divided into three Committees : One was appointed to draw up Articles concerning the Church and Religion. The other to examine Matters concerning the good of the Nation in general, the Privileges of the Nobility, and the good Administration of the Treasury : And the third Committee took into Consideration the Affairs relating to Law-businesses, and the Government of the Commonalty. But the

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the most sensible and ingenious part of Mankind laughed at the good-natured Gentlemen, for taking so much Pains to no Purpose, and exposed themselves to be cullied by the Court, that kept them in expectation of great Matters, which they could never have been able to perform, had they all the mind to it in the World.

But the House of the Nobility and Gentry discovered the secret Designs of the Court, and began to suspect the great eagerness that the Queen and Ministers of State shewed for the breaking up of the States. *The States demanded that the Assembly might not break up before his Majesty had answered their Cahiers.* The Assembly being dissolved of course by Law after the Cahiers are presented, said some Gentlemen that had been used to the Tricks of the Court, they will do what they please with the Complaints and Demands which we shall make to his Majesty afterwards; and when the Houses can no longer meet together in a Body, can there be any Assembly powerful enough with the King, to press him for those favourable Answers he has promised us? This Mistrustfulness of the Nobility chiefly proceeded from their eager Desire to get the Paulette and the sale of Offices taken off. There has been for this long while in France, an, I know not what kind of Antipathy between the Gentlemen of the long Robe and those of the Sword. Those have endeavoured upon all Occasions to humble and mortifie the Magistrates, because their Authority and Vigilance is very troublesome to them, and oblige them to pay a due Submission to

1615. to the Laws of the Land. And the Clergy-men who have the utmost Aversion for Par-liaments, because they have been always careful to prevent their Encroachments, and to keep their Jurisdiction within its just Bounds, joyned with the Nobility with all their Hearts to be revenged of the Magi-trates, in the hindering their Offices from becoming hereditary to their Families. The Remonstrances which both the Parliament of Paris and the Chamber of Accompts, presented to the King the fourth of January, whereby they demanded the continuation of the Yearly Duty, put the two Orders into a great Consternation, because they very well foresaw that after the breaking up of the States-General, the Sovereign Courts of the Kingdom would the more easily obtain their Requests, in as much as it nearly concerned the King's Interest, to keep to himself the great Revenue arising to him by the *Paulette*. Besides, for some other Reasons the Clergy wished that the Assembly of the States-General, might sit till an Answer was given to the *Cahiers*, for the Clergy being in so strict a Conjunction with the Nobility, mightily flattered themselves that they should obtain several great Matters, viz. the Publication of their Council of Trent; an Injunction to the Parliaments forbidding them to meddle with the Affairs of the Church; the Re-establishment of the Roman Religion in the Principality of Bearn, and some other Places of the King's Domini-ons:

*Mercure
Francus.*

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ons: and in fine, many other things very prejudicial to the reformed Religion: And on the other Hand the Clergy were sensible, that so soon as the States-General should be broke up, the Interest of the Magistrates would easily ruine all these their vast Designs.

This is now the true Reason that induced the Clergy so handsomely to consent to the Proposal the Nobility had sent to beg of his Majesty, that the Cahiers might be answered before the breaking up of the States-General. But those that had been depputed by the Nobility, to carry this their Proposal to the House of the Clergy, having told them that all the Hopes of their Assembly were only the Suppression of the Paulete, and the sale of Offices; a Member of the Clergy took an Opportunity so soon as ever the Deputies of the Nobility were gone, to represent to them that the three Orders of the King, doing ought chiefly to take two things into their Consideration, which in his Opinion were of greater Consequence, than all the rest; viz. To settle the King's Council, and regulate the Matters relating to the Treasuries of the Kingdom. These are the Affairs, said he, the three Houses ought mostly to be taken up with. There is no Assembly but that of the States-General able to determine those Matters; for what other Assembly would be so bold, as to expose themselves to the hatred and resentments of powerful Men, whose Interest obliges them to kin-

1615. der all they can be falling upon two such tender Points as these? We are not informed of the Name of the Clergy-man, who made this Motion; but he deserves to be commended for his Courage. However, I do not know, but these last Efforts might be rather intended for the Service of the Prince of Conde, than for that of his own Country; for his Highness endeavoured to ruine Chancellor Sillery, to remove Jeannin from the Exchequer, and all the Friends and Creatures of the Mareschal & Ancre from the Counsel, and indeed all other Employments, and in a Word, to destroy the Queen's Credit and Authority; and to this end the Clergy-man's Motion visibly tended. But whatever might be the true Design of this great Man, no body had Courage enough to second him, and back this good Advice, as they ought to have done. The House of the Clergy was too much devoted to the Queen and her Ministers, to examine so wholesome a Proposition. The Prince of Conde had not the distribution of good Livings at his own disposal, and therefore it was a Wonder to find any Clergy-man so brave as to make such a Motion in his Highness's behalf. However on the Thirtieth of January, it was resolved by a Plurality of Voices in both Houses of the Clergy and Nobility, that a most humble Address should be presented to the King, to beseech his Majesty, that when he should be pleased to take into Consideration the Answer to the

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Memorials, he would only call in the Princes and Officers of the Crown to advise him thereupon; but in case the King would desire still to have some Persons of his Council present at this Deliberation, his Majesty should be entreated to give in a List of his Counsellors of State, and consent that the three Orders might Name five or six of them, to consult with the Princes and Officers of the Crown, concerning the Answers his Majesty was to return. Besides it was further resolved to propose, that four or five Deputies of each House might be present at the Council, when the Cahiers should there be examined. But their last Demand extreamly perplexed the Court, for they begged of his Majesty, that the States-General might not be dismissed, and that the usual Speeches and Thanks given at the closing up of those Assemblies might not be made, till the King had returned the favourable Answers he had promised them.

This Resolution put the Queen and the Ministers of State into a strange Consideration, and to deliver themselves out of this perplexity as early as they could, they saw there was no other way, but to gain over the Clergy. This was their grand Resource. Wherefore Queen Mary de Medicis sent for Cardinal de Sourdis, and made very loud Complaints to him, that the Clergy had blindly complyed to the Proposals of the Nobility. *All those things that you pretend to Demand, said Mary de Medicis to him, are dangerous Novelties;*

*The cunning of
the Court to
shift off the
Demands of
the Clergy and
Nobility.*

*Mercure
Francis.*

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1613. *Wise, Learned, and clear-sighted Men as you are, ought to be so far from endeavouring to introduce them, that you should set yourselves with all your Might against those that offer to advance them.* In the mean time the Queen used all her Skill to insinuate into the Cardinal, that the Clergy should never obtain their Demands, so long as the Assembly sare, and when the Ministers of State that are well affected to the Church, should have no share in the Deliberations upon the Answers the King was to make to the Memorials of the States; You will find then, said the cunning Princefs, invincible Obftacles started by the Commons; and how do you know, but that they will be able to prevail with the Nobility to side with them? You are now both pretty well united, and after the Assembly is once broke up, they can't then recal their Word: and besides the Third State will no further cross you with their Remonstrances. Cardinal de Sourdis reported to the House of the Clergy what the Queen laid to him, and the flatterer du Perron did not fail to make use of his false Eloquence to represent, that the Resolution taken by the Clergy upon the solicitation of the House of the Nobility, was liable to great Difficulties as well as considerable Inconveniences. The Prelates who were Dependants upon the Court, so dexterously managed and improved the pernicious Arguments of Cardinal du Perron, that the House of the Clergy resolved at last to become entirely Obedient to the King.

King. This is the specious Name wherewith
the timorous or those who are to make their
Interests in France, colour all their Base-
ness or Ambition.

After the Clergy had thus given up them-
selves, the Nobility were not powerful e-
nough to stand it out. Besides, the Queen
had made a great many of them her
Friends, who cunctingly watched all Op-
portunities, to divert the good Resolutions,
their Order should be inclinable to take.
Yet notwithstanding, as Gentlemen have
most commonly more noble and generous
Sentiments than Clergy-men, the Houle
of the Nobility were ashamed wholly to
desist from their just Demands. *Seeing the*
King doth not think fit to alter the ancients
Customs, in permitting a certain Number of
Persons deputed from the three Orders to sit
in his Council, when the Answers to be made
by his Majesty to our Memorials will be ta-
ken into Consideration, said some of the No-
bility, let us not insist too much upon this,
and some other Demands. But however let
us represent to the Clergy how base a thing it
is to give up to the Court all that is displeas-
ing to the Ministers. What harm is there
in begging of the King to call to his Council,
only six of the most ancient Counsellors of State,
together with the Princes and the Officers of
the Crown, to advise his Majesty about what
they think fit for him to say in answer to our
Demands? Besides, it is of so great a Conse-
quence to the Welfare of the Kingdom, that
the States-General should know before they

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are dissolved, what Regard will be had to their Remonstrances and Counsels, that we can't well satisfie our selves, if we do not make this Representation to the King, which we have drawn up upon this Head. The House of the Nobility agreed to this new Proposal, and appointed five Gentlemen to go to the House of the Clergy to desire their Concurrence. These durst not then to reject it, lest they should render themselves too odious and contemptible, by discovering so great a Baseness. *Maurice de l'Hôpital*, Arch-bishop of *Aix*, was appointed to make this Remonstrance to the King: He was led up by a certain Number of Members deputed out of both Houses of the Clergy and Nobility to attend him. But the Queen was by no means pleased with his Speech; for nothing could satisfie her Ambition, less then being the absolute Missives, to direct the King to grant what the Ministers of State her Confidants, should think more convenient for the Interests of her self as well as her Son.

The Duke of Ventadour's
Speech to the
House of the
Clergy.
Minutes
General.
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The three Houses at that time seemed willing to agree among themselves, to press the King with some earnestness, to give them leave to continue their Session, as was usual, till his Majesty had answered their Memorials. But the Court toward off a blow, which would be of that Consequence, as to necessitate them to pay many things that would directly thwart their Interests, had recourse to their

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their usual Artifice of endeavouring to divide the House of the Clergy, from the two other Houses, and by that means to prevent them from making any new Solicitations for obtaining of that which the Arch-bishop of *Aix* had before demanded in his Speech. Wherefore the Duke of *Ventadour* was sent from the King to move the Clergy about this Affair. It was the Fashion in those Days when Men spake in Publick, to scatter at least some sprinklings of Learning in their Speeches; and the Gentlemen of the Sword themselves affected to shew that they were not only tolerably converstant in *Piatarch*, but they would likewise quote some Passages out of the ancient Fathers and Clergy-men. Wherefore, according to this usual Ceremony, the Duke of *Ventadour* too began his Speech with a long Preamble, and said that the Church had never varied in her Definitions touching Matters of Faith, and enlarged himself mightily upon a Maxim of *St. Austin*, that Men ought rather to bear with some Inconveniences, than suffer a Gate to be open to Novelties that are contrary to the very Foundations of Religion. This Theological and extraordinary Preamble spoken by a Duke and Peer of France, was a surprize upon every body, and none could imagine what he aimed at by it. Does this good Lord, said some of the Wits, come to acquaint us with the Birth of some new Heretic, and so stir up the Clergy to make use of all their Powers to prevent

1615. the growth of Error? But when he had gone on four or five Periods further, the Duke of Ventadour put an end to all their Doubts, and discovered this great Mystery. To have the Kingdom well governed, said he, we ought to hearken to the good Maxims of the Church; and it is much better to tolerate some Abuses, than to act against the Fundamental Laws of the Monarchy. It is to shake the whole Body of the Building, which cannot be done without running extream Hazard. This Maxim did not want to be supported by many plausible Reasons and some far fetched Precedents; and thus the Duke by labouring to serve the Interest of the Queen, only made a pompous shew of his Improvements in the Study of Politicks, History and Divinity,

This Demand of the Clergy and Nobility, said he again, (supposing your Proposals should be resolved by his Majesty, before the solemn presenting of the Cahiers) is such a Novelty, as is directly contrary to the ancient and avowed Laws of the Realm; so that his Majesty can by no means in the World consent to it; nor that he mistrusts those who sit in this present Assembly, for the King is fully perswaded of their integrity and inviolable Fidelity to his Service: but who can assure him, that the States-General, who shall meet hereafter will be as well affected as these are? What the King would grant you now without any manner of fear or jealousy, his Majesty will not be able to refuse another Assembly when

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when they shall come to make their Demands. Wise Men such as you are, can't but see, that turbulent and seditious Persons will be apt to abuse that Permission which you will always make a good use of. However the King is so very willing to give his Subjects all imaginable Satisfaction before the breaking up of the States-General, that he is pleased to consent, that each House may depute a certain Number of Persons to represent to his Majesty and his Council the Reasons, why their Orders thought fit to make these Demands. And further the King is pleased to have the Answers to your Memorials delivered to those who shall present them, so that they may carry down with them into their several Provinces the assured Pledges of the good Affection which the King will always have for his People. Thus they endeavoured to set off a very small Favour with all the Advantages his Addreſs and Rhetorick was Master of. But what was still more strange and perfidious, the Court had no Intentions to make good a Tittle of what they had made Ventadour to promise in the Name of the King.

However, the Duke (like all the rest whom the Queen had Employed in her Service with the States-General) before he put an end to his Speech, mightily pressed the Clergy to conclude their Memorial as soon as possible, and withal assured them of Mary de Medicis's Kindness (which her Majesty might think very well bestowed upon Persons whose Compliance had been

1615. so extreamly engaging to her, had she not been so much set upon her own particular Interests.) This Compliment from the Queen to her faithful Clergy presented the Duke with an Opportunity of basely flattering her Majesty. She is a Queen, said he, whose unparallel'd Prudence is so highly valued by Sovereigns abroad, that they think they cannot do themselves greater Honour, than in charging her to be the Arbitrator of their Differences. She is that excellent Woman whom Solomon could hardly find out. Impertinent and Ridiculous Adulation! How could a Person of Wisdom and probity find in his Conscience to say, that *Mary de Medicis* was like that excellent Woman described by Solomon? *Mary de Medicis* never spake with any extraordinary Wisdom, neither was she Vigilant, nor Charitable, nor such an admirable Housewife: In short, she could not so much as gain the Confidence of her Husband. But when the Duke said with an Admiration, the most hypocritical that ever was, that foreign Princes took *Mary de Medicis* to be the Arbitrator of their Differences, he apparently meant by it, the Quarrels between the Houles of Savoy and Mantua; and the Contests of Philip the Third, King of Spain, with *Charles Emanuel*, Duke of Savoy. But can any body say (and speak the Truth) that the Queen managed those two Affairs with very great Prudence and Dexterity? Was not this good Prince almost always out-witted by the Court of

Spain?

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Spain? The Duke of Savoy made a Publick May-game of her : And Cardinal Ferdinand, Duke of Mantua, her Nephew, expected so little from the Protection of a Queen very near related to him, that his Ministers perswaded him at last to throw himself into the Arms of the King of Spain.

The Duke of Ventadour's Speech met not with that Success, which the Court expected from it : And the Cardinal *de Sourdis*, Speaker of the House of the Clergy answered it in very submissive and respectful Terms. But the three Houses having unanimously agreed to pres^s with all possi-
The second
Remonstrance
to the King, to
prevent the
Dissolution of
the States-Ge-
neral, before
an Answer
given to their
Cahiers.

memorials before the States-General were dissolved ; Cardinal Sourd^{is} as much devoted as he was otherwise to the Court, could not forbear telling *Ventadour* in plain Terms, that the House of the Clergy would persist in their most humble Requests made to the King, being fully convinced that their Demands were of the highest Importance for the Service of his Majesty, and the welfare of the Kingdom. The disquiet this Answer gave to the Queen, increased so soon as she heard that the three Houses had unanimously resolved to make a second Remonstrance. *We do not ask leave, said they, to assemble our selves in order to take new Resolutions, nor make any other Proposals to his Majesty, than those that will be found in our Memorials. We desire only to bear the Difficulties which the*

*Mercure
Francois.*

1615

1615. the King's Council will object to our Articles, and to receive our selves the favourable Answers which his Majesty hath promised us. What Inconvenience is there, if we make in case of Necessity some Remonstrances to the King, or else to those whom his Majesty shall appoint to have a Conference with the Deputies of the three Orders? So just and necessary a Demand, sure can not be of any dangerous Consequence neither for the present or the future.

The Court despairing of ever being able by their Intrigues and ordinary Artifices to break off the unanimous Confederation of the three Orders of the Kingdom, thought there was no other way now left, than to make use of their Authority, and they were the more encouraged to it, because those Creatures of the Clergy and Nobility, that were of the Queen's Party protested to her Majesty, that both the Houses would never openly resist the King's Will. Wherefore they dictated to him what he should answer to the Remonstrance, which *la Croix*, Bishop of Grenoble was appointed to make to his Majesty at the Head of the Deputies of the three Orders. *I desire to give all manner of Satisfaction to the States*, said young Lewis, *with an Air of Authority*, *but I can take my Measures only from the Cahiers that you shall present unto me*. *I will receive them the next Week at the furthest*: *And if it shall be thought necessary for the States to meet again about the Answers, I shall give*

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to them, we will take care to let them have timely Notice. When this Answer was reported to the Houses, some advised that they should still persist in their Resolution. It is impossible, said they, that they should have any regard to the Articles of our Memorials, if the States be dismissed after we have presented them. The Business we have here before us, both concerns the Service of the King, and the good of the Kingdom: why then should we be afraid of shewing some Courage, the matter requires that we should make a third Remonstrance. Thus spoke some Persons in the House of the Clergy. But the Majority of their Members were so far from complying with their Reasons, that they stiffly opposed them. The Emissaries of the Court set themselves to magnifie every thing they had heard from the Ministers of State, and the Confidants of the Queen; and said that the States demanded such Matters as that the Consequences of them were much to be feared; that it was impossible for them to advise the King to grant them; and that the States ought rather to strengthen the royal Authority, during his Majesty's Non-age, than propose such things that might diminish and weaken it.

Seeing that the wisest Heads in the Council do assure us, said some Flatterers among the Clergy, that we demand a dangerous Novelty, surely the best Course would be no longer to insist upon it. Let us therefore submit our selves to the King's Pleasure, and receive with

1615. with an humble Acknowledgment the Favours his Majesty is willing to grant us. The King consents that we should continue sitting till an Answer be given in to our Memorials, and grants us leave to Name Deputies to make our Articles good in the Council. In fine, his Majesty gives us some hopes, that if there be need, the States shall meet again, after the Memorials shall be presented. For this good Favour we are obliged to the Queen's Goodness, since she has procured us this Concession against the Sentiments of divers Persons of the Council. The Clergy ought not only to set a good Example to both Houses: But we likewise ought earnestly to beseech them to pay that Submission and Obedience which is due to our Sovereign. The Bishops of Grenoble and Seez were both commissioned to go to the House of the Nobility to desire their Concurrence therein, and the Bishop of Tarbes was sent to the Commons upon the same Message. When the Nobility (who were already prepared by the Intrigues of the Queen and her Ministers) had submitted, the Gentlemen of the third Order were obliged to follow the Example of the other two; so that it was resolved by them all to present their Memorials to the King the Monday following, being the 23 Day of February.

Remonstrances of the Clergy against the Protestants of France.

Since the beginning of the Reformation in France, the Clergy had spared neither Pains nor Money to ruine it, or at least to hinder the Progress of it. And this was very Natural; for the Bishops and the rest

of

of those Ecclesiasticks could not love a Religion, which aimed not only to degrade them and abolish the Abuses and superstitious Worship, which had procured such immense Treasures to the Church of *Rome*; but also maintained that she ought to have her great Revenues taken away from her, which had been procured her by the pious Frauds and false Traditions of covetous Priests and Friers. Wherefore at the meetings of the Clergy, they still constantly made some new Complaints against the *Protestants*; and though they were not so bold, as to Demand openly their utter Ruin, yet they made use of all the Motives, that violent Passions were capable of suggesting into the Breasts of vindictive and interested Men, to persuade the King that both his Conscience and his Glory obliged him to keep (at least within more narrow Bounds) the exercise of a Religion, which they represented to him as if it had been formed in the Womb of Rebellion, and was brought forth an Enemy to the Sovereign Authority. The Court insincere in her self, and naturally inclinable to be no Slave to her Word, never wanted Priests and Monks to furnish her with gross or else very fine Artifices, to elude the most inviolable Edicts and solemn Promises. The House of the Ecclesiastical Order whereof I am now speaking, failed not to follow the method the Precedent Assemblies had taught them; and of the three Hundred and odd Articles

1615. cles contained in their Memorial, there were no less than sixty five, which either directly or indirectly besought the young King, that he would take off some of the Priviledges justly granted by his Father to the Protestants, who had prodigally spent their Blood and their Fortunes, to set him upon the Throne of his Ancestors, from which both the Pope and the zealous Catholicks endeavoured to exclude him.

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The Protestants knew well enough, that the Bishop of *Lucon*, who was appointed to present the Clergy's Memorial to the King, would not forget them in his Speech he was to make at the same time. But the Complaints which the Bishop of *Rhodes* carried into the House of the Clergy the 12th of January, upon a Riot that had happened at *Milbaud*, a Town in the Province of *Rovergue* (the Inhabitants whereof were for the most part *Protestants*) was a lucky Occasion for the Clergy to desire *Marquemont*, Arch-bishop of *Lions*, to make a Remonstrance to his Majesty, and recommend to him again the Interest of the Clergy in the Principality of *Bearn*. The Bishop of *Rhodes* complained against these reformed Inhabitants of *Milbaud*, a Town in his Diocese, for having on *Christ-mas-day*, and the Day before in the precedent Year, taken up Arms, driven the *Roman Catholicks* out of the Town, entered the Church, broke down the *Crucifix*, overthrown the Altars, cut into pieces the Ornaments, and the Shrines, taken

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taken off the Pyx from the Tabernacle, and trampled under their Feet the Wafers usually kept therein. He needed not to have spent his Breath so much to inflame the Zeal of the Clergy in a strange manner. *Marquemont* being persuaded that the bare Relation of this Action would be sufficient to stir up their Majesties against them, forbore his Tropes and Figures on this part of his Speech, which he made the 21 of February, (attended by the other Deputies of the three Orders) to bestow them on that which concerned the Affairs of *Bearn*.

The Principality of *Bearn* had been divided from the Monarchy of *France* in the time of the Declension of the Family of *Charlemagne*; but afterwards having gone out of the House of *Foix*, into that of *Albret*, together with the petty Kingdom of *Navarr*, the Heires whereof *Anthony de Bourbon* Duke of *Vendome* married, it fell again to the Crown of *France*, in the Person of *Henry the IV.* as well as *Navarr*, which formerly had been possessed by some of his Predecessors, by Virtue of a Marriage between *Philip le Bel*, and *Jane Heirel* of the ancient Counts of *Champagne*: *Thibaud the IV.* one of them, after the Death of *Sancho* called the *Courageous*, his Uncle by the Mother's side, was crowned King of *Navarr*. However, *Jane d' Albret*, Mother to *Henry the IV.* with the Consent of the States of *Bearn*, forbade the exercise of the *Romish Religion* in that Principality.

This

1615. This was an Effect of the just Indignation which that Religious Princess and her most faithful Subjects had conceived against a Conspiracy, which the *Roman Catholicks*, together with *Philip II. King of Spain*, had hatched against her and her Children. But afterwards through the Solicitation of Pope *Clement VIII.*; *Henry IV.* made an Edict in the behalf of the *Roman Catholicks* in *Bearn*, whereby he granted to them very near the same Priviledges, the *Reformed* enjoyed in *France*, by Virtue of the Edict of *Nantes*. His Majesty likewise restored again the Bishops of *Lescar* and *Oleron* to their former Dioceses, though not to the ancient Revenues of their Benefices, but instead thereof the King allowed the Bishop of *Lescar* a Thousand Crowns, and the Bishop of *Oleron* eighteen Hundred Livres Yearly Pension upon the Demesne of *Bearn*. We may very easily imagine, that these two Prelates were not a little chagrin to see some Country-Parsons as Rich as themselves; and that their other Brethren were unwilling, to let the World know by Experience, that Bishops might live well enough without such Pomp and Equipage, for that would be apt to make People reflect, and it would be of a dangerous Consequence to disabuse them of so ancient an Errour, that Poverty and an honest Mediocrity can not suit well with a Bishop's Miter.

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King Henry had been often solicited, to restore the Bishop of *Lescar* and *Oleron* to the Possession of their whole Ecclesiastical Revenues; and after his Death these two Prelates pretended he had promised it them. They were very importunate with *Mary de Medicis* for the performance of her Husband's promises; but her Majesty could not comply with their Demands, without giving Occasion to the *Reformed* in *Bearn* to make Complaints. Wherefore the Queen put them off till her Son should come of Age. Nevertheless the Bishops of *Lescar* and *Oleron*, repaired forthwith to *Paris*, at the time when the States-General were sitting, in hopes to move their Brethren Bishops to a tender Compassion, when they should be made sensible upon what small Revenue they were forced to live. The House of the Clergy taking their Case into Consideration, resolved to do what they could, to justify the Demands of these two Bishops, and to get them restored to the Revenues their Predecessors had enjoyed. To compass these their Designes, they thought their surest way would be to bring down the *Reformed* Churches of *Bearn*, at least to the same Condition the other *Reformed* Churches of *France* were reduced to; therefore earnestly pressed the King to unite the Principality of *Bearn* to the Crown of *France*, to which it did formerly belong. Wherefore the Arch-bishop of *Lions* enlarged much upon this Article, in his Remon-

1615. monstrance. Bearn, said he boldly, was usurped upon France, when St. Lewis was busied in his Croisado's in the Holy-Land.

The General Deputies of the reformed Churches being sensible that the Riot committed by the Inhabitants of Milhaud was unwarrantable; rather than to undertake to satisfie or excuse them, they thought it their best way to recriminate and complain too as well as the other: They therefore set forth how that the Roman Catholicks of the Town of Belestat had there pulled down their Church, beaten, plundered and cruelly abused their Persons, though the free Exercise of their Religion was there allowed to them. Upon these Grounds the Reformed thought they might lawfully Petition the King and his Ministers, complain of the violent breach of the Edicts of Pacification, and withal humbly to pray that an Enquiry into both Excesses might be referred to the Court of the Edit at Castres. The present juncture was such that they had a mind to cajole the Reformed, and the Court therefore consented to it. The Marques de la Force a Protestant, was then Gouvernour of Bearn, and he vigorously maintained before the King and Council the Interests of that Principality against the House of the Clergy. The Court being afraid lest they might raise a Commotion in so remote a Province, where the Protestants were the strongest, and yet unwilling to displease the Clergy, berought themselves of this Expedient.

pedient. They put off the Examination
of the Business of Bearn till the May follow-
ing, at which time a particular Assembly
of the Clergy was appointed.

But whilst the Arch-bishop of Lions ^{The breaking}
was making his Remonstrances, some De- ^{up of the}
puties of the Clergy and Nobility were al- ^{States-Gene-}
drawing up Heads of Articles, which each ^{Mercure}
of their Houses should set down at the Francois.
beginning of their Memorial, and they 1615.
agreed upon twenty four, most part of
which have been already mentioned. It is
easily perceived by these Articles, that the
Nobility then had much degenerated from
the Courage and Prudence of their Ance-
stors, and rashly and blindly followed all
the Impressions which the Clergy had a
mind to instil into them. The most re-
markable of the Articles which were a-
greed upon by them, are as followeth,
viz., *The Publishing of the Council of Trent;*
the re-establishing of the Romish Religion
both in Bearn and other Places; *an insepa-*
rable re-annexing of the Kingdom of Navarr,
and the Principality of Bearn to the Crown of
France, together with a Declaration that the
Demesnes possessed by any Prince whatsoever,
before his coming to the Crown, should like-
wise be annexed thereto, when that Prince
should come to be King; *an absolute Prohi-*
bition to the Sovereign Courts of the King-
dom to take Cognizance of any thing that con-
cerns Faith, the Authority of the Pope, the
Doctrine of the Sacraments of the Church,
the Monastical Rules, and all other Matters
what-

1613. whatsoever, that the Clergy is pleased to call Spiritual, under the Penalty of annulling and abrogating their Decrees; the regulating of Appeals as Abuses, and privileged Cases; with an explaining the Nature and Extent of the Liberties of the Gallican Church; the suppressing of Inheritances, and sale of Offices belonging to the Law and the Treasury, Governments and military Employments; the revoking of granted Reversions; the just and true value of the Coin; the reforming of Universities, and the restoring of the Jesuits; the performance of the contract of Marriage between the King and the Infanta of Spain. His Majesty was also intreated that besides the Princes of the Blood and the Officers of the Crown, He would be pleased to call to his Council four Prelates, four Lords or Gentlemen, and four Lawyers, each of them to wait quarterly, and to order that the six most ancient Counsellors of State then in being, should attend continually in ordinary. In fine from a Vein of Flattery unbecoming Persons who fancy themselves Men of Wit and Courage, they exhorted the young Monarch, to remember the great Obligations he had to the Queen his Mother, in having bestowed upon him a holy and religious Education. All things being thus prepared against the 23 of February, the Day apointed for the breaking up of the States-General, the three Orders met in the Hall called Bourbon, where their Majesties were to come, with the same Pomp and Ceremony, as they came at the opening of the Assembly.

Their

Their Majesties having taken their Places, and the Heralds commanded Silence, 1615.
Armand John du Plessis, Bishop of Lucon, ^{Bishop Lu-} came forth to present the Clergy's Memo-^r to the King
rial to the King, and make him a Speech.
That Prelate who since was born of a Family
but of very small Fortune, but yet was con-
siderable in Poitou, had quitted the Sword to
take upon him the Bishoprick of Lucon,
left by his Brother Alphonse, who turned
a Carthusian Friar, he sought by all imagi-
nable means to advance himself in the
World. He began his Disputations in the
Sorbonne, and maintained Theses with great
Applause, and at last took the Degree of
Doctor in Divinity. But as the Learning
of Licentiates consists only in I know not
what School-terms got by Rote; *Du Ples-*
s ambitious to raise himself above others;
resolved to retire to some Country-house,
there to study some more solid Matters,
And especially applied himself to Contro-
versie, being thereunto encouraged by the
Example of Cardinal du Perron, who first
acquired a great Name by that sort of
Learning, and by that means got himself
preferred to an extraordinary Fortune.
Du Plessis flattered himself that by the Ad-
vantage of his Birth, (which *du Perron*
wanted) he might advance himself as high
in the Church, as the other had done, pro-
vided he could find out an Opportunity
wherewith handsomly to Sighalize himself.
But a little time discovered that *du Plessis*
was fitter for the Affairs, and Intragues
of

Aubert Hi-
stoire du
Cardinal de
Richelieu.
I. 1. ch. 11.

1615. of the Court, and that *du Perron's Genius* lay more towards Sciences and the faculty of Disputation. Some tell us that *du Plessis* was admired at *Rome*, when he went thither to sollicit a Dispensation of his Age, in order to be consecrated Bishop of *Lucon*; But, Reports ran then, and his Enemies mightily reproached him for it, that with a scandalous Untruth he had deceived Pope *Paul V.* by making himself older, than really he was. However 'tis said, that the good old Gentleman commended the Prelate's Wit and Cunning, which had so over-reached him, and that his Holiness foretold that the Bishop of *Lucon*, would be in time a notable and cunning Sophister. *Du Plessis* being returned to *Paris*, he made it his Busines to intreague himself into the Court: but his growing merit met with but few Admirers, whereupon he turned a Lent-Preacher at *Paris*. His preaching was mightily cryed up there, insomuch that the Applauses he received in that Capital City, gave an Opportunity to his Friends to speak to Queen *Mary de Medicis* in his Favour. And for his part he behaved himself with that Addres and Prudence, that so soon as the Queen knew him more particularly, he gained her good Graces. But how extraordinary soever may be the Qualifications of a Man who sets up for, and designs to make his Fortune there, yet he will still stand in need of some great Man to be his Patron. Wherefore *du Plessis* wisely

*Collection of
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nster's Vindi-
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Tom. 2. l. 3.

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wisely made choice of Mareschal *d'Ancre*, as the most powerful Man, he could pitch upon ; and the Interest of his Favorite was then so great at Court, that the Princes and great Lords of *France*, began to grow Jealous of him. But the States-General soon after being called, the Bishop of *Lucon* used all his Interest to be chosen a Deputy to this famous Assembly, hoping there to meet with an Opportunity to promote his Zeal for the Court. But the five Cardinals and other eminent Prelates, that sat in that Assembly, were intrusted wholly with the Queen's Confidence, so that all the rest had but a very small Share in what was there to be transacted ; Insomuch, that all which *du Plessis* could obtain, was only a Commission to Present the Memorial of the Clergy to the King, and at the same time to make a Speech to his Majesty in the Name of that House.

The Speech held out near an Hour and a half long ; however, 'tis said, he was heard with great Attention and Pleasure. This Prelate who was extreamly fond of vain Applauses, had worded it with all the Care and Art imaginable ; and perhaps too had made use of his Friends to help him in it : For 'tis not unusual for the Bishops in *France* to make Speeches, which they have had no further Trouble in, than only to get them by Heart. However there was nothing very extraordinary in the Bishop of *Lucon*'s Speech, but only some fine Flourishes, which Men of Parts began

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to relish. There in the Name of the Clergy he requested the lessening of the excessive Expences bestowed in Gratuities and Pensions granted without any Necessity at all ; the Suppression of Inheritances, and sale of Offices ; the Punishment of the Contrivers of the tumultuous Proceedings of the Inhabitants of Milbaud ; the Restitution of the Church-Revenues possessed by the *Huguenots* ; and the Accomplishment of the double Spanish Match. This extraordinary Prelate discovered his Soul in that part of his Speech, which he had most laboured ; and those of a penetrating Genius saw through him, that *du Plessis* minded more his own Interests, than those of the Clergy. Then he loudly complained of the Clergy being removed from the King's Council and publick Employments. *Your Majesty*, said he to the King, ought to bestow upon us greater Share in State Affairs ; when your Royal Predecessors made use of the Prelates of his Kingdom, the Gallican Church flourished beyond any other Church whatsoever. But since that laudable and good Custom has been neglected, the Clergy of France have lost so much of their Reputation, that they are almost now become despicable. and by declining to consult with the Prelates, that are versed in State-Affairs, 'tis thought now that the Honour we enjoy of being devoted to the Service and Worship of God, make us incapable of Serving our King, who is the living Image of the Almighty. This Maxim which was delivered with so much Con-

Confidence, set all the Assembly on laughing. St. Paul, said the evil Courtiers, would not allow that a Man listed in the Service of God, should concern himself with the Affairs of the World : Doth the Bishop of Lucon, and the other Bishops think that this Doctrine was Orthodox, only in the time of the Apostles ? Then the Prelate went on to exhort young Lewis, to give over the Care and Administration of Publick Affairs to the Queen his Mother ; and so long as he fancied to Promote his own Interest by the means of that Princess, he never thought, she could be intrusted with too much Power and Authority. But the Series of this History will shew us, that Cardinal de Richelieu, was not long of the Bishop of Lucon's Opinion.

The Courtiers also made another Reflection upon that part of his Speech, wherein in truth he demanded a thing that appeared just and agreeable to the Intentions of those, who had enriched the Church, viz. that Benefices might not for the future be bestowed upon Lay-Gentlemen as Rewards for past Services ; nor Pensions upon Abbies settled in their Favour. Do these Gentlemen, said they, make a better Use of the Revenues of the Church, than We ? Are not rich Foundations as they are as well employed in maintaining the Nobility, who have spent their Estates in the Service of their Country, as in entertaining the Luxury and Laziness of a Commendatory Abbot ? This notable Man of Oratory, by exhorting

1615. the King not to bestow any Benefices, but onl upon Men Canonically able to Possess them, reproaches us, as if we presented unworthy Persons to those Livings which belong to our Abbies, and as if we made a criminal Merchandise of them. All these Remonstrances are good, and perhaps true in the main, but it doth not become Du Plessis to teach us here the exact Observation of the Canons. His Brother and himself were they not both advanced to the Bishoprick of Lucon, before they had obtained the Age prescribed by the Canons for consecrating Bish-ops? The Family de Richelieu, enjoyed the Revenue of that Benefice several Years, and every body knows, that, Madam de Richelieu without making any scruples granted to those that were the highest Bidders, the vacant Prebenda-ries, and other Livings, belonging to his Son's Nomination.

The Bishop of Lucon moreover spoke against the Encroachments made, as he said, by the Magistrates upon the Autho-
rity of the Church. 'Tis most certain, added that Prelate, that a Prince, who permits his Subjects to entrench upon God's Authority, shews them an Example to despise his own Sovereign Power. This part of his Speech was a Reflection upon those of the Third State, and therefore they looking upon one another; This Bishop, said some of them, Surely takes us for People of the other World, and fancies that we don't under-
stand in what the Power which Jesus Christ has left to the Pastors of his Church doth truly consist. Clergy-men have their par-
ticular Interpretations, and to oppose their unjust

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unjust usurpations is, as the Bishop of Lucon says, an Encroachment upon the Power of God himself. Clergy-men in a well settled Government, should not be allowed the liberty of speaking thus confidently to the King against the just Ordinances of his Ancestors. Then du Plessis took upon him to demand the publishing of the Council of Trent, but this part of his Speech gave occasion for a Thousand pleasant Jests to be thrown upon the Clergy. We do confess with Tears in our Eyes, said he towards the latter end of his Speech, that the disorderly Manners of those of our Function, are the chief Causes of the great Calamities that France lies under : You may apply, Sir, an Effectual Remedy to them, if you would please to command the Publication of the Holy Council of Trent ; The sincere and fervent Desire we have to re-establish amongst us the purity of the ancient Discipline, is the only Motive, that induces us to present this most humble Petition to your Majesty. Every one then presently called to mind, what President Miron had replied to the Bishop of Beauvais, when he proposed to the Third State, to joyn with the Clergy in demanding the Publication of the Council of Trent. If those Gentlemen have so great a Desire to reform themselves, said they, who binders them from renouncing their Pluralities, from residing in their Diocesses, from retrenching their Luxury and superfluous Expences, and from regularly observing the ancient Canons ? There is no need of the Publication of the

1615. Council of Trent, they may without that edifie us with an Exemplary Life and Conversation, and good Preaching in their Pulpits. But their cunning is easily discovered, they are not in such hast to perform their Duty so holily, as they ought, but yet they are for laying the Fault upon others. Let but them not oppose the Publication of the Council of Trent, cry they out continually, and the Clergy of France will be as Regular, as those of the first Ages. But such Discourses are only fit to be put upon silly Babbles.

President Miron's Speech
to the King in
the Name of
the Third
State.

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The Nobility acting in concert with the Clergy, demanded almost the very same Things, as the latter did : The Baron of Senecey, Speaker of the second Order, made a short Discourse, but would not be persuaded to publish it, wherein he shewed himself wiser, than the Baron de Pont St. Pierre, whose Speech was not at all liked, at the opening of the Sessions. But Miron President of the Third State, spoke in the behalf of his Order. His Speech was not so well worded indeed, but it was more solid, than that of the Bishop of Lucon. For Miron was so nice in what he delivered, that he was admired by all Wise-men. For he appeared grave without Affectation; respectful, without Meanness; and free, without Passion. Piety and Justice, said he, are the two firmest Supporters of a Government : And by a most deplorable Misfortune, there remains no more in France, than the Shadow and the Name of these two Virtues. It would not be difficult to shew why

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why the Truths of Religion are so little known, and so ill practised. Many Bishopricks want Bishops; some Men enjoy the Revenues of those great Livings, under the Title of a Steward or Governor, or by virtue of a simple Nomination. Prelates in contempt of the most Holy Laws of the Church, do not reside in their Dioceſſes. Most Parſonages have ſuch ſmall Incomes, that no Man of ordinary Merit, will take upon him the Care of them. Those that are Richer, covetous and idle Persons swelling with Titles fill up with ignorant Curates, to whom they give as little as ever they can. Above half the Abbeys are enjoyed by Men who have no canonical Title: By Gentlemen, and ſome too that are of a different Religion, receive the Revenues thereof, under the Notion of Stewards. One Man is provided with ſeveral Benefices, and squanders away the Income arising out of them in profane and wicked Uſes. We ſee ſome Clergy-men making no ſcruple of Simony; Others think they can cover their shameful Traffickings by a Pension which the new Proprietor is to redeem in a little time with a good Sum of Money. In fine, nothing is more common among Clergy-men than Confidence. These are the Caufes of the Calamities wherewith France is afflicteſ. These crying Disorders, have drawn upon us the just Indignation of God, who will ſuffer no offender to go unpunished.

But we ought not only, continued the Speaker, to represent to your Maſteſty the Abuſes introduced in the Kingdom: You

1615. have also called us to give you the Advices we shall think necessary to redress them. And we know of none better, nor more effectual, than the Observation of the Holy Decrees, the wise Ordinances of the Kings your Predecessors, and the Concordate made with the Holy-See. Thereby Residence is ordered to all Pastors as well as the Collation of Benefices upon learned Men and good Livers able worthily to serve them. Parsonages are the most important Employments in the Church: Your Majesty may easily increase the Revenues of those that are small, by re-annexing the Tythes to them, or applying to their Profit something out of the Revenues of single Livings that are in their Neighbourhood. With which Justice can a Bishop or an Abbot turn to his own Benefit all the Tythes of his Diocese, or of a whole Territory, whilst those that serve at the Altar are starving? What necessity is there for a Clerk of single Tonsure to enjoy a considerable Revenue, when he has nothing else to do, but to repeat his Breviary? Abbeys, and conventional Priories given in Commendam, are not, Sir, one of the least Abuses brought into the Church. Your faithful Subjects of the Third State most humbly beg of your Majesty the Redress of these Grievances concerning Benefices.

I am much pleased with relating all this, to shew that the Laiety of the States-General spoke more rationally than the Ecclesiasticks, concerning the true Causes of the Disorders of the Clergy, and proposed more convenient and effectual means for the

the redressing of them. The Bishops, Abbots and Priors would not touch upon the suppressing of *Commenda's*, the retrenching of Pluralities, the increasing of mean Parsonages, and the exact Residence of Pastors, by the easie and natural ways proposed by *Miron*: No, those Gentlemen could not find their Account in such a Reformation; they desired not to renounce the best part of their Revenues, nor to be confined to their Dioceſſes, and to live there so remote from the Intreagues of the Court, and the Diversion wherewith a capital City does abundantly furnish them. The abolishing of Appeals from Ecclesiastical Courts, which would have render them Petty-sovereigns, and the extent of their Jurisdiction, was much more agreeable to Men wholly taken up in seeking ways and means to domineer over the Lord's Heritage. This was the true Reason why the House of the Clergy insisted so much upon these last Articles, without mentioning the most essential Disorders, though they confessed with Tears in their Eyes (said the Bishop of Lucon) that the Disorders of the Clergy were the principal Cause of the Calamities of the Kingdom.

Miron also spoke no less boldly against the Excesses of the Nobility, and Lawyers; and complained of the contempt Gentlemen openly made of the Laws, and represented their Trespasses upon the Ordinances of the King, the Oppressions committed by them in their Lordships, their ex-

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ceeding great Passion for gaming, and their superfluous Expences : To redress these Abuses and Disorders of the French Nobility. *Miron* proposed to have some Acts made for the utter suppressing of Duels and Rencontres ; for prohibiting excessive Gaming ; superfluous Profusements, ruinous both to Lords and Gentlemen ; for the Punishment of Blasphemy and execrable swearing, made use of as a garnishment to set off their common Discourses ; and which demanded the Protection of the King in the behalf of the People, who were oppressed by them, and the Restitution of the Church-Lands possessed by the Nobility against the Holy Decrees. The Disorders and Abuses of the Lawyers likewise were lively represented. But *Miron* went further, and proposed to have that exorbitant Number of Places needless and chargeable to the People totally suppressed. And though the Third State were extreamly concerned to keep up the *Paulette*, and the sale of Offices, yet their Speaker insisted upon the abolition of them too : Whether this was proposed sincerely or no, God knows, but the proceedings of the Third State, in opposing the Expedients found out to indemnifie the King, for the Loss he should sustain, by the retrenching of these Abuses make us apt to judge, that they did not go roundly to work, as they should do in this Matter. In fine, *Miron* recommended to the young Prince the re-establishing of the Government in Poli-

Policy and Commerce ; the due Administration of the Finances, the vacating of Pensions granted without Necessity, the relief of the People, and the lessening of their Taxes. And because he was bound in Duty, to say something to the Queen, and his Silence here would have been taken for an affected singularity, and doubtless *Mary de Medicis* would likewise have been offended at it. ; The praises the Speaker could not forbear bestowing upon her, were so well placed, that they seemed to be a genteel Transition to that part of his Discourse directed to the Queen, to exhort her Majesty to instruct young Lewis, how to govern with Justice and Tenderness, and to inculcate this Maxim often into him, That a King by those two Methods, acquires a more solid and lasting Glory, than by a vain Ostentation of his Power, by Conquests, which is so far from strengthening a Nation, that it very often drains it both of Men and Money,

Thus broke up the General Assembly of the three States ; and I have given a long Account of it, because I fancied that the Particulars of the most considerable Transactions that happened in the first States-General, that has been seen in France, would be very entertaining and acceptable. Neither Lewis the XIII. nor his Son have called any ever since. ^{William Prince of Orange, in his} Bad Princes, says very wisely a great Hero ^{* William Prince of Orange, in his} of the last Age, *that whose assent*, which man ^{against Philip II. King of Spain,} gives Cheque no their Tyrannical Power, ^{against Philip II. King of Spain,} as much

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much as good Princes wish for, and love them. Those that are desirous of being true Fathers to their People, will always think that the States General are the most assured Foundations of a just and gentle Government. How judicious soever this Reflection may be, I dare not be bold, to affirm, the present Circumstances of France duly considered, that the calling of the General Assembly, would be of very great Advantage to that Nation, the French having been for an Age, and upwards inured to Slavery. The different Views and Interest of the three Orders of the Kingdom would not suffer them to act unanimously in the said Assembly, and therefore they would do more hurt than good. And so long as Matters shall stand on the same Foot, the French may deplore their own Imprudence for having ruin'd themselves without Remedy; but they will have no Cause to complain, that they have left off calling those Assemblies, seeing now they know not which way to reap any Fruit and Benefit by them. The French may think of making Addresses, for the calling the States-General time enough, when they are grown as zealous as England is, for the Preservation of their Laws and Liberties.

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demanded
by the
States-General.*

*Mercure
Français.*

1615.

The Court that would never consent to grant any thing that was earnestly insisted on by the States-General, was looking out for some Pretences, whereby they might handsomely send home as soon as possible

1615.

possible the Deputies into their several Countries ; but they must look very plausible. The Court had already promised the three States, that the King would answer their Memorials, before they departed from Paris ; he would likewise permit them, to meet again, provided it should not be in the Monastery of the *Augustin Fryers*, where they had kept their former Sessions, nor in any other Publick Place. The Members of each House, were only suffered to confer together, in the Private Lodgings of their Speaker, and that too upon Condition that they should make no more new Proposals, nor take any Resolutions in the Matters treated of in the Assembly of the States-General. But yet however *Mary de Medicis* made a shew as if she had a mind to gratifie them, in their most Important Demands. And to that end ordered that the Proposals contained in the Memorials, should be reduced under three Heads. The first concerning the Affairs of the Church ; the second touching Matters relating to the Nobility ; and the last, in Reference to the Third-State : but under this Head were included the Law, the Treasury, the Government, and the Relief of the Subjects. And all these Matters were to be examined in several Committees, consisting of divers Counsellors of State, appointed by the King's Commission to deliberate upon the Answers that his Majesty should give to each Proposal. The Court had in this Particular

lar some Regard to the Nobility, and the Marshals of France were called to the Committee appointed to examine their Concerns. This Application and Exactness, so much affected by the Court, extremely ravished some of the less discerning People, who fancied that they should obtain great Matters, and the three States appointed forthwith their several Deputies, to confer with the King's Commissioners in those different Committees. All this while the Court seemed to proceed therein *Bona fide*, and proposed the chiefest Heads of the *Cahier* to be examined.

The first Motion made in the Assembly, was concerning the Sale of Offices. *Mary de Medicis* and her Ministers expected to succeed in their Intrigues, and compass their Design, by reason of the Difficulties, they were confident would arise about Ways and Means, how they should indemnify the King for the lessening his Revenue, by taking off the *Pauvres*. The Third State proposed to make that good by retrenching the Pensions : But that would by no means go down with the Nobility, because divers of them were maintained out of the King's Gratuities. The Clergy and the Nobility would wish all their Hearts have been for raising new Impositions, to repair the Loss the King was to sustain by it. But the Third State opposed this with all their Might ; for Taxes fall most heavy upon the middle sort of People. As, for Instance, for one Clergy-

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man or Gentleman, that buys his Salt out of the King's Magazine, there are above two Thousand ordinary People, that have theirs from the same Store. Wherefore the Court wisely foresaw that the great Expectations of the States-General would come to nothing even from this one thing alone. For though every body seemed well enough contented to have the Abuse of buying and selling of Offices taken off, and the Lawyers to be reduced to a competent and reasonable Number, yet it was proposed, that in lieu thereof, there should be settled on the King the Sum of fifteen Hundred Thousand Livres, for what he was like to lose, by taking off the *Yearly Duty*, and *Casual Incidents* by falling to him. Whereupon a Motion was made for the raising of a new Tax for ten Years of thirty Sols upon each Measure of Salt, called *Minot*, in such Places where the Gabel was established, and of an Equivalent in those Provinces where Salt was free. The Clergy and the Nobility agreed to this Proposital, but it was rejected by the Third State; whereupon arose very great and long Debates upon this one Article. Nothing in the World could be more acceptable to the Court, who designed to tire out the Deputies, and to make the People long to see them sent home to their several Countries, since they could not agree together in any one Important Matter.

So

So soon as the Court perceived, the People were brought to be of this Disposition, the chiefeſt of the three Orders, were commanded to attend the King, the 24th of March, at his Palace called the Louvre. They were conducted into the Gallery there, where the King met them accompanied by his Mother, and attended on by his Council. Then the Chancellor Sillery declared to those Deputies, that the King having caused their Memorials to be examined, they found so many weighty Matters contained in them, that it was impossible the King should answer them in so ſhort a time, as he could gladly have wished, *However, said Sillery, his Majesty is pleased to give you ſensible Testimonies of his good Affection, by his favourably answering the Proposals you have most insisted upon.* The King bath resolved to abolish the ſale of Offices, to regulate what depends upon them; to ſet up a Court of Judicature, to call the Farmers to an Account, and to retrench the Pensions. All this shall be performed in ſuch a manner, as will not fail to give Satisfaction to the States. As for the other Articles mentioned in the Memorials, the King will provide for them, ſo ſoon as poſſible. Those who have been called up thither, very well understood by these fine Words, that they were diſmissed in good earnest, and that there was nothing more for the Deputies to do, but forthwith

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with to return home, and mind their own Private Affairs.

Yet notwithstanding this, Threescore and six Members of the Third State met again, ^{The re estab-} to draw up an Address to the King, ^{blishing of the Paulette, Mercure} which was signed by them all. They ^{Francois.} therein represented to him the Inconveniences of the proposed Tax upon every *Minot* of Salt, which would fall almost wholly upon the common People. Then superadded to it, that the retrenchment of the Pensions, with some other Frugalities proposed by the Third State would be more mild and less burthenous ways, to Recompence the King for the Loss he should suffer by the suppression of the *Yearly Duty*. All the Members, who had set their Hands to this Address, went to the *Louvre*, and one *Ribier*, a Lieutenant-General at *Blois*, in presenting the same, made a Speech to his Majesty. This Gentleman again desired the continuation of the *Paulette*, seeing they designed to suppress it, for no other Purpose, but only to overload the People with new and heavier Taxes. But King *Lewis*, who had been instructed how to answer them, with the Authority of a Master, reproached the Deputies of the Third State, for their meeting at the *Augustin Fryers*, against his special Command, and forbade them going thither any more under Pain of his Displeasure. I very well understand, said the King, *what you have represented to me; I will ease my People as much as lies in my Power,*

1615. Power, and to that end will advise with the Queen my Mother, and my Council. Then Mary de Medicis told the Deputies that so long a continuance at Paris being very Chargeable and Troublesome to them, it was high time now for them to think of repairing home to their respective Countries.

After the Assembly of the States was dissolved, the Gentlemen of the long Robe were very busie about the Matter of the Paulette, using their utmost Interest to have it continued. And the Queen being of the same Opinion with those Gentlemen, caused a Decree of the Council of State to be issued forth the 13 of May, for re-establishing the Yearly Duty, till the Year 1618. Thus France was never wanting in Pretences, for breaking the most solemn Promises of her Kings. This Decree set forth, that whereas it was impossible for his Majesty so soon to redress the Grievances, that were consequent upon the Suppression of the Paulette, yet notwithstanding the King had thought fit to put off the Execution of the good and holy Resolution taken in the States-General of his Kingdom concerning the same, and that it seemed to him so much the more reasonable, because the Lawyers might justly Demand the Continuation of the Yearly Duty till the Year 1618; since the Publick Faith was concerned therein, by two Decrees of the Coun-

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Council of State given in 1611. and 1612. This shifting off a Promise so many times repeated to the three Orders of the Kingdom, made all People think, that they intended to do the like concerning all that the States General had proposed for the good of the Kingdom.

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THE
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LEWIS XIII.

King of *France* and *Navarre*.

BOOK VII.

MArgaret of France, the first Wife of Henry the Fourth, died after the breaking up of the States General. She was the last of the Family of Valois, which had reigned above two Hundred and fifty Years in France. The Death of Queen Mar-garet.

Mercure
Francois.
1615.

The History of Book VII.

France. Nothing can be more odd and bizarre than the Fortune of this Princess; or to speak plainer, she was like *Julia*, the Daughter of *Augustus*, a singular Example of Misfortunes, and of the contempt that Persons of the first Rank and Quality are exposed to, when they neglect to make good use of their Wit, and to regulate their Passions. However, *Margaret* the Daughter and Grand-daughter of two great Kings, Sister to three, married to a Prince, who came to the Crown after the Death of her Brothers without Issue, was at last so low reduced, that in her own Life-time, she saw a Princess of a Birth much inferior to her own, advanced into her Place upon the Throne which her own Family had filled, and whereon the King her Husband reigned with great Glory. But though *Margaret* was much like *Julia*, as to her Wit and Manners, yet she was more fortunate than her on this Account, that her Husband was more Humane than *Tiberius*, who caused his Unfaithful Wife to dye in Exile through Hunger and Misery, and spared not those, who had made Love to *Julia*. But King Henry thought himself obliged to

Thouani Hist. have some Consideration and Regard for lib. cxxiii. An- the Sister of those whom he had succeed-
no. 1592. & ed. Being at last wearied out with a long
cxxxiv. An- Confinement in the Castle of *Usson* in the
no. 1605. County of *Auvergne*, *Margaret* had that
Mezeray's meannels of Spirit as first to desire her Di-
Abridgment vorce, both of the King and the Pope;
of the Life of Yet
Henry IV.

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Yet notwithstanding she deserves to be commended for not giving her Consent to a Divorce so long as *Gabriele d'Estrees* lived, for fear, *Henry* should marry a haughty and an unworthy Mistress, whom (as he was wont) he loved even to madness. However, *Margaret* would fain have covered her shameful Proposal under the plausible Vail of sacrificing her own Interests for the good and Tranquility of the People; she earnestly wished the King might leave some Children behind him, that might be fit to succeed him. But yet whatsoever she said, wiser People did not think, she ought to have made the first overtures of descending from the Throne of her Ancestors.

Queen *Margaret* ought at least in some Measure to have followed the Example of *Jane of France*, the Daughter of King *Lewis* the XI. and Sister to *Charles* the VIII. for that Princess was so far from suing out her Divorce from *Lewis* the XII. whom she had married, when he was but Duke of *Orleans*, that she refused to give her Consent at all to it. But *Jane* was as Courageous and as Vertuous a Princess, as *Margaret* was loose and unchaste. *Jane*, who was wrongfully abused by the pitiful *Alexander* the VI. whom her Husband had gained over to him, patiently bore a Disgrace, which vertuous and good People murmured at, and heartily lamented. And though her Husband forsook her, for no other Reason, but only to marry the Heirs

• 151 els of Britanny, who was Widow to Charles the VIII. his Brother, yet the Princess Jane shut her self up in a Nunnery at Bourges, that so she might not see her who supplyed her Place. But Margaret quite otherwise shamefully bought her Freedom, to come to Paris, to get Gallants in her old Age (like that ungovernable Empress, of whom it was said, that her Brutality was never satisfied;) and having obtained leave, four Year after the King's second Marriage, to live at Paris. She at first took the House of the Arch-bishop of Sens; But one of her Gallants having been killed at that House at the boott of her Coach, that Princess could not any longer brook the sight of that House, which renewed her Grief, for the loss she had suffered there. Whereupon she remov'd still nearer to the Court; and built a House and planted Gardens in the Suburbs, called St. Germaine, just opposite to the Louvre, where she might have held the first Rank, had her Conduct been but wiser, and her Life less intreaguing, and less scandalous. In this House, says an Historian, Margaret kept her small Court, during the remainder of her Days: There she held a strange mixture of Pleasures and Devotion; was mighty fond of Love-letters, and applied her self to the vain Amusements of the Court; she was both Charitable and Unjust, for still all the while she entertained her Gallants, invented new Diversions, and kept her Creditors unpaid; this extraordina-

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Abridgment
of the Life of
Henry the IV.

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ry Princeſſes to hear Publick Masses and Evening Prayers, to gratifie learned Men, and bestow great Bounties upon the Fryers.

The Mareschals of Châtres and Lavardin ^{Souvre and Requeſeur.} both died during the sitting of the States-General. The first was one of the four Mareschals of France, whom the Duke of Mayenne, Lieutenant-General of the League caused to be made to maintain his Party, which was growing now very weak. Whereupon one told him both wisely and cuaningly, that he had got Bastards to be legitimated to his own Disadvantage. This Prediction proved true, for the following Year, Châtres concluded his Treaty with Henry the IV. upon Condition that his Majesty would continue him in his Government of Orleans and Berry, of which he was in Possession, and that the King would give him a secret Promise to make him Mareschal of France, according to the usual Formalities. As for Lavardin he obtained the Title of Mareschal of France more honourably, as a just Reward to the Service he had tendered to King Henry, against those that would have robbed him of his Crown. Souvre, Gouverneur of young Lewis XIII. was put into Châtres's Place, and Roquelaure had that of Lavardin's.

The Spaniards and the Duke of Savoy's Troubles of the Motions in Italy, intangled the Court of France with no leſs trouble and Difficulties, than the Affairs of the Assembly of the States. King Philip pushed on by the Duke;

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Duke;

1615. Duke of Lerma his Favorite (who mortally hated *Charles Emanuel*) made a show as Venet. i. if he had a Mind to invade Piemont, unless the Duke of Savoy would immediately morie recon- submit, and make Satisfaction to his Ma-
 1615. victo-
 rio Siri Me-
 morie recon-
 duse Tom.
 III. Pag. 320.
 821. &c.

jeſty, who was displeased both at the ir-
 ruption made by *Charles Emanuel* into the
Milanese, and his scornful way of sending
back into *Spain* the Order of the *Golden
Fleece*. However, this Presumptuous Duke
filled with the Hopes of reaping some Ben-
efit from the Trouble he had raised and
still entertained, was mightily pleased that
the Court of *Spain* refused to ratifie the
Treaty concluded the Year before at *Aſt*,
by the Marquess of *Rambouillet* and *Savelli*
the Pope's Nuncio. But his Catholick Ma-
jesty, being vexed that *Inoioſa* Governour
of *Milan*, had suffered the Duke of *Savoy*
to treat with him as with his equal, ordered
Inoioſa, to ſend the *Spaniſh* Troops in-
to *Piemont*, and force *Charles Emanuel* to
make due Satisfaction for the Injuries
which a King much Superior to the Duke
of *Savoy*, pretended to have received from
him.

The French Court neither did not much
approve of the Treary of *Aſt*, and it was
thought that *Rambouillet* had been too
hasty in concluding it, and had more Re-
spect to his own Honour, in having been
the Mediator of an Affair which was so in-
tricate and perplexed, by reason of the
different Interests of the King of *Spain*,
the Duke of *Savoy*, and the House of Man-

1615.

tua, than in finding out the most effectual means to make that Treaty lasting and solid. *Mary de Medicis* likewise was not satisfied with the Provision that was made for her Nephew *Ferdinand*, Cardinal Duke of *Mantua*, but though that Motive inclined her to wish that that Treaty had not taken Effect, yet she was affraid on the other Hand, that if the King of *Spain* went about to Ruin the Duke of *Savoy*, in good earnest, that the Crown of *France* being obliged to assist him, and to oppose the growing greatness of a Rival Power, that Affair would unavoidably involve *France* and *Spain* in a War, and break the Treaty of the double Marriage, which she had concluded with so much Difficulty, and which had cost her so much Trouble to bring the Assembly of the States-General to consent to it. Whereupon her Ma-jesty had given express Orders to the Com-mander of *Silleri*, whom she sent to *Ma-drid* to make a Present of some Jewels from the young King to the Infanta, to inform himself as well as he could about the real Designs of the *Spanish* Court, concerning the Affairs in *Italy*, and to press King *Philip* to grant such Conditions as might be honourable to the *French* King, and such as an Inferior Sovereign might accept of with a good Grace. The Commander, in short, perceived well enough, that the Catholick King stood more upon the Point of Honour, than the Invasion of *Piemont*, and to humble the

Mercure
Francois.

1615.

1615. haughty Spirit of the Savoyard, than to deprive him of a Principality, which he should necessarily have been obliged to restore again to his Children, his Majesty's Nephews. This News quieted the French Court, which was till now very uneasie at the extraordinary Motions of the Duke of Savoy and the Governour of Milan.

*New Motions
of the Spani-
ards in Italy.* The Marquess of Inoisa being despe-
rately shagrined that the Court of Madrid
should find fault with his Conduct of Af-
fairs, and so openly complain as they did
of his Carelessness and want of Zeal for
the Reputation of King Philip, resolved
to raise a considerable Army, and use his
utmost Endeavours to subdue Charles Ema-
nuel. Wherefore he required the several
Princes of Italy to send him a Succour
of Troops, which some were obliged to
furnish Spain with by Virtue of former
Treaties they had made with her, and
which others had offered him either out
of Respect and Diference to his Catholick
Majesty, or out of spite against the trou-
blesome and ambitious Spirit of the Duke
of Savoy. All these Commotions obliged
the Republick of Venice to keep to their
Arms, and to fortifie their Frontiers as
well as they could: for indeed they knew
not for what purpose all these Preparations
were designed. James the First, King of
Great Britain, seemed mightily to concern
himself for the Preservation of the Duke
of Savoy; And Carleton, his Majesty's
Ambassador at Venice, pressed the Repub-
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1613.

lick very hard to assist *Charles Emanuel*. He set all his Wit and Eloquence at Work, to Discover the secret Designs of the Court of *Madrid*, and to represent the ill Consequences to them which they ought to fear, in case the Princes of *Italy* should leave the Duke of *Savoy* exposed to the Discretion of the *Spaniards*, and to exaggerate to the highest Advantage the good Intentions of the King his Master, and the great Succours he offered them whenever there should be an Occasion. But the English Minister, notwithstanding all his Rhetorick, laboured in vain, for they gave no heed to his pathetical Remonstrances. The wise *Venetians* were too well acquainted with the Temper of King *James*, and the Posture of his Affairs. They knew well enough that his pretended Love for Learning, and some Bustles he made abroad, were nothing but pretexts, wherewith he had a Mind to conceal his idle Life as well as his weak side. Besides all this, not only the great Distance of *England* from *Italy*, would not have allowed him to act effectually, and with that Speed which was necessary; they knew his Wife and his Confidants on whom he depended, were entirely devoted to the Interest as well as Council of *Spain*.

The Duke of *Savoy* on the other hand was labouring as hard as possibly he could, by his Ministers in all the Courts that were Jealous of the Power of *Austria*, to gain Succour from them. But all Peo-

*The Sincere
ness and Ar-
tifices of the
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1615. ple advised him to adjust his Differences with the Catholick King, his Brother-in-Law ; and the utmost they promised him were but their good Offices towards his Majesty. The Pope's Advice was, that *Charles Emanuel* should still send one of his Sons to *Madrid* to pacifie the King of *Spain*. The French King commanded the Marquiss de Rambouillet to declare plainly to the Duke of Savoy, that his *most Christian* Majesty was so much engaged at Home about his own Affairs, that he was not in a capacity to assist his Neighbours. And besides that, King *Lewis* forbad his Subjects to go into either Service of *Piemont* or *Savoy*. Some of them had no REGARD to that Order (for it seemed to them to be made only for form sake) but they were severely punished for their Disobedience. The States-General of the *United Provinces* would not suffer, and in all Probability it was at the Solicitation of the French Court, that any Soldiers should be raised in their Country, for the Service of the Duke of Savoy. The Politicks of *Mary de Medicis* would by no means permit that she should labour the Ruin of that Prince. But however, her Majesty was not displeased to see *Charles Emanuel*'s Pride so brought down, and humbled. She was glad in her Heart to be revenged of a troublesome and high-spirited Man, who was always seeking Occasions for new Differences both at Home and Abroad, to break the Match between the Prince of *Spain*,

Spain, and the Eldest Daughter of France, whom Henry IV. had promised to the Prince of Piemont. 1615.

However, all these Disappointments from the Princes of Italy and elsewhere, did not as yet discourage the Duke of Savoy. But in order to clear himself in some Measure from those Reproaches that were cast upon him, of being unalterably resolved to kindle a War in Italy, he assembled the Ministers of the foreign Princes that were at his Court : And after he had earnestly desired them to tell him freely, how far his Highness might relax his Pretensions for the good of the Peace, he protested that he was ready to comply with them in all things they would desire of him, provided they would not require any thing of him that might be unworthy of his Rank and Dignity, and that they would also secure to the Princess Mary his Grand-daughter, the Possession of Montferrat which unquestionably belonged to her. The English and Venetian Ambassadors highly applauded Charles Emanuel for his good Sentiments ; and failed not acquainting the Governor of Milan ; But the Marques of Inoiosa had no Power to conclude any Treaty. The King his Master had only sent him express Orders for reducing the Duke of Savoy by force of Arms.

Wherefore they were obliged to carry on with all speed the Negotiations at the Court of Madrid. The Venetians did press

1615. the French King, to make use of his best Interest with his Catholick Majesty, that so he might remit something of the Submissions and Satisfaction he demanded of the Duke of Savoy. King Lewis readily complied with it, and in pursuance thereof, pressing Orders were sent to the Commander of Silleri, to act in concert with the Ministers both of the Pope and the Republick of Venice, to obtain from the Catholick King such Conditions that Charles Emanuel might in some Measure honourably accept of. And though at first the Duke of Lerma had with much Sharpness complained to Silleri of a Prince who affected openly to affront the Power of King Philip, and that the other Spanish Ministers had declared that their Master would not hearken to any Proposal, unless the Duke of Savoy would give reasonable Satisfaction for the Injury he had done to his Catholick Majesty; yet afterwards the first Ministers of Spain, as well as the rest became more compliant and tractable. The King consents, said they, at the Request of so many Princes who have interesteds themselves in this Affair, to pass by the humble Submissions which he has a Right to require of the Duke of Savoy; but the Concern of his Majesty for the Preservation of the Peace of Italy, obliges him to demand that the Duke of Savoy shall disband his Forces, and adjust the Differences between him and the Cardinal Duke of Mantua. They explained themselves more particularly to the Com-

Commander of *Selleri*. The *Spaniards* gave him to understand that they would also consent that *Charles Emanuel* should keep up the Troops that were necessary for the security of his Frontiers, provided he would break the rest; that the Affair concerning *Monferrat* should be referred to the Decision of the Emperour, and the Places and Prisoners taken on both sides, should be delivered up and set at Liberty. After this, said they, *his Majesty will dispose of the Troops he has on Foot, in such a manner as shall give no suspicion or jealousy to any Prince of Italy.*

It was generally believed that the Duke of *Savoy* who had shewn such forward Dispositions for the Peace, would not now any longer decline it. But this cunning Prince spoke quite otherwise than he thought. His Head was full of Chimical Projects, and he was resolved Right or Wrong to make War. *I have good Troops, said he, they are able to make Head against the Forces that King Philip has assembled from several Places. If I gain the better of them, what Glory will redound to me for having bumbled the Spanish Pride! We will shew to all Europe the weakness of a Monarchy which her Neighbours have no reason to dread. It may be, Fortune will be against me, 'tis true. But in this case France, the Republick of *Venice*, and the Protestant Princes must needs assist and defend me. Will they suffer the Spaniards to join Piedmont to the great Dominions he already pos-*

1615. *seffes in Italy?* But this Prince blinded with his own Passions, did not consider that these Advantages, wherewith he filled up his vain Fancy, were to be obtained in his own Country, which was become the Theatre of the War. The King of Spain was at least powerful enough for a long time to dispute with him the entry of the Troops of Savoy into the *Milanese*. When the News of the Conditions with which King Philip offered to be satisfied were brought to Turin, the Duke had his recourse to his ordinary shifts of gaining Time. One Day he started one Difficulty, and the next Day he raised another. Sometimes he objected that his Pretensions against the House of Mantua, would be as it were buried in the length of those Processes which he would necessarily be obliged to make at the Imperial Court, and otherwise he represented that his Honour would not permit him to forsake those that had taken his Part to the Prejudice of the House of Mantua their Sovereign Prince. Wherefore he demanded a general Pardon for them: But the Cardinal Duke was very loath to grant this Demand.

An open War between the King of Spain and the Duke of Savoy.

Nani Historia
Veneta. L. I.

1615. These several Negotiations and Delays were drilled on till Spring: And then notwithstanding the weakness and negligence of the Governor of Milan, the Spaniards themselves gave a fair Opportunity to Charles Emanuel, to break into an open War with their King, whose Power and Forces

Vittorio Siri
Memorie re
canarie
Tom. III.
pag. 335.

236. Mercurio
Francisco,

1615;

Forces they did so much boast of. The Inhabitants of *Roccaverano*, a little Place situated in a hilly Country, most part whereof is barren, which the *Italians* call the *Landes*, and extends it self in length from *Quieras* to the Neighbouring Places of the Sea of *Genoa*; those of *Roccaverano*, I say, not being able any longer to bear the Insults of the *French* Garrison which the Duke of *Savoy* had put into that Town, resolved to call in the *Spaniards*, and to submit themselves to them. The Marquess of *Mortaro*, Governour of *Alexandria de la Paille*, did hearken the more readily to the Proposal of the Inhabitants of *Roccaverano*, because he was one of those that were for effectually reducing the Duke of *Savoy*. Whereupon he hastened his March to *Roccaverano* with five or six Thousand Men. He had likewise another Design in his Head, which was after he had possessed himself of the Town of *Roccaverano*, to surprise *Cortemilla*, from whence he might have easily given a very great Disturbance to *Piemont*. His Project took effect but in part. *Mortaro* made himself Master of that little Town, and the Castle of *Roccaverano*: Forty French Men were killed in that Encounter, and Sixty made Prisoners of War. But *Charles Emanuel*, who wanted neither vigilance nor activity, disappointed the Marquess of *Mortaro* in his Design upon *Cortemilla* by reinforcing speedily the Garrison thereof, and advancing himself as far as the Town with

1615. with four Thousand Foot, and eight or nine Hundred Horse.

After the taking of *Roccaverano*, *Mortaro* came to *Bestagno* in *Montferrat*. The Duke resolved to force him there, and take that Place which was not fortified. This Town did belong to the House of *Mantua*, and the Duke of *Savoy* had passed his Word to the Republick of *Venice*, that he would not undertake any thing to the Prejudice of the Cardinal-Duke. But *Charles Emanuel* bethought himself that he might by allowed to make use of an Evasion common enough with Princes who fancy that to keep their Word is a Slavery, unbecoming Persons of their Rank and Station: Wherefore he did pretend, that being under a necessity of defending himself against the *Spaniards*, he might very lawfully attack them in what Place soever he met them. And for that End a Manifesto, directed to the Consuls of *Bestagno*, was published to impose upon the World. The Duke protested therein that he had no Design to commit any act of Hostility against the Towns belonging to the House of *Mantua*. That his Highnes had so great a Respect and Consideration for the Pope, and for the *Most Christian King*, that he would not make any Infraction of the Treaty of *Ast*, which had been concluded the Year preceding by their Ministers, and that the Duke did only Attack the *Spaniards*, who were posseffing themselves of the Places of *Montferrat*.

with

with a Design to carry on the War in *Piemont*. However, those fair Protestations did not put a stop to the Complaints against *Charles Emanuel*, nor to the upbraiding him with Insincerity; but he was not much concerned at it. Though *Mortara*, *Pimentelli*, *Cordoua*, with several other brave *Spanish Officers*, had intrenched themselves in *Bastagno*, with five or six Thousand Men of the best Troops of *Spain*, yet *Charles Emanuel* most courageously adventured to force them there. And perhaps he had compassed his Design, or at least had put them to their last Extremities, had not the Marquels of *Inoiosa*, speedily marched to their Relief with a Body of fifteen or sixteen Thousand Men. The Duke of *Savoy* kept his Post, till the Gouvernour of *Milan* was come up to incamp just before him, and then he retired in very good Order in sight of his Enemies, who had not Courage enough to Attack him.

It was thought that the *Spaniard* did not know how to make use of the Opportunity that was offered him of beating the Duke of *Savoy's* Troops, which were so much Inferior to his own, as to be forced to retire. But they owed their safety to the great Desire the Gouvernour of *Milan* had to preserve his Army entire for the Siege of *Ast*. Prince *Thomas*, one of *Charles Emanuel's* Son's, who was shut up in that Place with a Garrison of four Thousand Foot and some Horse, made continual

*Skirmishes be-
tween the
Spanish and
the Troops of
Savoy.*

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tinual Incursions into the Milanese; wherefore *Inoiosa* was resolved to possess himself of that Place. But the Resolutions of the *Spaniard* were neither kept Secret, nor with any Dispatch put in Execution, in so much that *Charles Emanuel*, who had Intelligence of his whole Design, had time enough to prepare himself to give him a Disappointment. He therefore marched with all speed he could to secure *Ast*, and though his Troops were much Inferior in Number to those of his Enemies, yet he thought it would be injurious to his Courage and Valour to shut himself up in the Town; wherefore having pitch'd upon an advantagious Post on the outside, with ten Thousand Foot and fifteen Hundred Horse, and twelve pieces of Canon, He, with an undaunted Bravery, attended the Motions of *Inoiosa*, whose Army consisted of seventeen Thousand Italian Foot, four Thousand Spaniards, and two Thousand Horse, besides six Thousand Foot and five Hundred Horse, that were left at the Fort of *Sandoval*, which might, in case of Necessity, be easily joined to the Army upon the first Orders.

But before they could come to set down before the Town, it was necessary for them to drive away the Duke of *Savoy* from the Ground he had possessed himself of. Whereupon the *Spaniard* made a detachment of his Troops, and sent them with some Field-pieces upon a rising Ground, from whence they could annoy

the

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the Army of Savoy ; but *Charles Emanuel* detached likewise some of his Men to oppose the Enemies Design : So there happened a bloody Skirmish betwixt the two Parties. The *Italians* of the Gouvernour of *Milan's* Army, being timorous and ill disciplined, had at the first brunt been put to Flight, if the *Spaniards* who were mad to see that a Detachment by much Inferior in Number to theirs, should dare to resist them so obstinately, had not at last beaten back the Troops of *Savoy*, and made themselves Masters of the Hills and the most advantagious Posts. The Duke not being able any longer to withstand so great a Number of Men, retired into *Ast*, like a Man that endeavoured rather to fight than to run away. For though the Town of *Ast* was but half a Mile from the Post where he was attack'd, yet he took up above six Hours in making his Retreat ; so great was his Desire to engage the whole *Spanish* Army. Several Officers were very Importunate with *Inoisoa*, to give them leave to fall upon the Rear of the Enemy. But that slow and unexperienced General would never consent to it.

His Army which had been lately reinforced consisted of thirty Thousand Men, when they went about to possess themselves of the Hills which lie between the Town and the Charter-house; the Duke of *Savoy* marched on briskly with his Men to oppose them : And they fought at first

with

1615. with a great deal of Courage and Bravery ; but they were forced again to give way to the powerful Number of Troops that almost overwhelmed them. And for the compleating of his Misfortune, the *Swissers* whom he kept in his own Pay, refused to fall on, whatsoever *Charles Emanuel* could do or say to them by way of Encouragement. The Duke performed upon this Occasion all that could be expected both from a Great Captain, and a brave and valiant Soldier. He was extreamly commended for his Courage and Undauntedness in the Fight, for his Presence of Mind in the admirable Orders he gave all along, for his Activity and Diligence in relieving his Troops whenever they began any where to lose Ground. To make all Italy Tremble, said experienced Men after this Action was over, the Spanish Army ought to have a General like the Duke of Savoy, or that his Highness should be capable of raising and maintaining as many Troops as the Catholick King. But Inoiosa made so ill an Use of the Advantage he had, and took such wonderful bad Measures in reducing the besieged, that *Charles Emanuel* found out Work enough to stop him a good while, and make him lose the Flower of his Army by the Sickneses and other Inconveniences that generally attend a Siege.

Le New Treaty concluded at Asti. Gueffier the French Resident at Turin was gone to Paris, to know what the King his Master would please to have him do touch-

touching the Affairs of Italy, which were more 1615.

embarassed than ever by the open Rupture ^{tween the} between the Spaniards and the Duke of King of Spain
Savoy. But the Court could not come to and the Duke
any certain Resolutions before the return of Savoy.

Nani Hist. ria Veneta.
of Savoy.
l. i. Anno
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bring from Madrid, the last Intentions of Vittorio Siri
his Catholick Majesty. So soon as the Memoire re-
French King was informed that King Phi- condite.

lip was well enongh inclined towards a Tom. III.
Peace, and that the Duke of Lerma had 345. 349.
made some Proposals pursuant thereunto: 350. &c.

Orders were given to Gueffier immediately Mercure
to return to Piemont, and to tell the Francois
Marquess de Rambouillet that he should 1615.

press Charles Emanuel with all the power-
ful Arguments he could to accept the Con-
ditions the King of Spain would be please-
ed to comply withal. Gueffier arrived at
Turin just as the Spanish Army was march-
ing towards Asti: Rambouillet forthwith
dispatched Boigny his Kinsman to the Duke
of Savoy to demand an Audience of his
Highness, having some Private Matters to
acquaint him with from the most Christian
King. Charles Emanuel made an Appoint-
ment for the Marquess to meet him be-
tween Asti and Turin, at a Place called
Valfencra. The Ambassador employed
his utmost Sollicitations with the Duke to
persuade him to agree with the Terms
proposed by the Ministers of Spain to the
Commander of Silleri. But Charles Emanuel
still more resolved than ever to try the
Event of a Battel against the Goverour
of

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of Milan who was drawing up towards him, demanded some time wherein he would impart the same to his Council, and to the Ministers of his Britannick Majesty, the Republick of *Venice*, and the Pope who were all interessed in the Peace of *Italy*. This was a new Contrivance and Artifice of his, to defeat the pressing Instances of *Rambouillet*: The Duke always big with chimerical Projects, and full of Hopes, flattered himself that in case he should have the better of the Spanish Army, which consisted of raw and unexperienced Men, the *Venetians* and most of the Princes of *Italy* would joyn with him, to make their own Advantages of the Spoils of a Monarchy which was already sensibly decaying.

But when *Charles Emanuel* began to reflect upon the great Disturbances that the frequent Insurrections of the Strangers of his Army gave him, who with a great deal of Huffing and Insolence demanded their Pay, and upon the Impossibility he was under of supplying all the extraordinary Charges he was obliged to be at, notwithstanding the continual decreasing of the Enemies Army, he at last came to be somewhat more tractable, and less averse to the Peace. The Negotiation was carried on very warmly during the Truce of three Days which was granted on both sides. The Duke of *Savoy* gave a Promise in writing under his Hand signed the third of June 1615, whereby he engaged

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gaged himself at the earnest Desire of his *Most Christian Majesty*, to accept the Conditions that *Silleri* had brought from *Madrid*. But *Charles Emanuel* at the same time demanded four Things of the King of *France*, viz. That he would Pardon all the *French Men* who have served in the Troops of *Savoy*, notwithstanding the Prohibitions that had been made; that he would procure the re-establishing of the Trade between the *Milanese* and the States of his Highness; that he would Command all the Governors of his Provinces in the Neighbourhood of *Savoy*, to send Succour to *Charles Emanuel*, without expecting any further Orders, in case the *Spaniards* should not observe the Conditions proposed in the Treaty: and lastly, that his Highness should be allowed to keep up five Thousand Men for the security of his Frontiers, viz. two Thousand *Swissers*, and three Thousand of his own Subjects.

The French Court having readily yielded to the Duke's Demands, the Marquess *de Rambouillet* and the other Ministers concluded the Treaty. There were two Copies thereof drawn up, because of the Competition of the Ambassador of *England* and the Pope's *Nuncio*, for it was by no means possible to insert their Names together in one and the same Act. The Sovereign Princes of the *Romish Religion* through a weakness very unworthy their Rank, and which they endeavour to palliate with the fair Name of *Respect for Religion*.

4615. *ligion, give the Precedency to the Pope, and the Names of his Ministers are always first set down in those Acts, wherein they are mentioned whether as Mediators, or as Parties. The Protestant Princes and States, who know how to distinguish the Christian Religion from the Abuses which Superstition hath introduced in it, condemn that ridiculous Respect paid to the Bishop of Rome. Carleton, Ambassador from England, would not permit his Name to be set down after that of Costa Bishop of Savona, and Nuntio to Paul V. perhaps likewise the Minister of the Pope took it amiss that an Heretick Prince should be associated with the Holy Father in the Mediation. For this Reason they were obliged to make two Copies of the same Act. In one the Pope, and in the other the King of England were Mediators in Conjunction with France, and the Republick of Venice. But the Duke of Savoy made a great Difference betwixt these two very unequal Sovereigns. He did not much concern himself with the Guaranty of his Holiness, but he demanded that of his Brittannick Majesty.*

At last the Peace was signed the one and twentieth of June in the Year 1615. by the Duke of Savoy and the Marquess de Rambouillet. No Minister of King Philip was there present; nor set his Hand to the Treaty: Such was the Scrupulosity of his Catbolick Majesty. He would not appear

pear to Treat with the Duke as with his 1615.

Equal, looking upon him as a Sovereign Prince very much Inferior to himself.

The chieftest Articles of that Treaty which was carried on so long and negotiated with so much Difficulty, were these. *In Respect to the Kings of France and Great Britain, the Republick of Venice and the Pope, and to give also a Publick Testimony of the Submission and Friendship, which he had always professed to have for his Catholick Majesty, Charles Emanuel promised to disarm within a Month, and to keep out of the Troops he had then on Foot, but four Companies of Swimmers, and as many of his Subjects as were necessary for the security of his Territories and Frontiers; that he should not attack any Country belonging to the House of Mantua, but would remain quiet in Expectation of the Emperor's Decision concerning the Difference between the Duke of Savoy and that Family: Provided nevertheless that the Marquels de Rambouillet would Promise in the room of the King his Master, that all the Vassals or Subjects of the Duke of Mantua, who had been in the Service of Charles Emanuel during the last War in Montferrat, should be secure in their Persons and Restored to the Possession of their Estates; and that within a Month all the Places and the Prisoners taken on both sides should be delivered up. The French Ambassador engaged likewise his Word in the Name of the Most Christian King, that his*

his Majesty would take into his Protection the Person and States of the Duke of Savoy, in case the *Spaniards* should attack them either directly or indirectly ; that he would give him such Relief as should be sufficient for his Defence ; that he would forthwith Command the Mareschal *Lef-diguieres* and all the Governours of the Provinces adjoining to the Dominions of the Duke of Savoy, to send him some Troops without expecting any further Orders, if the *Spaniards* should break their Word, after the Duke of Savoy had performed *Bona-fide* the Conditions of the Treaty ; that Trade should be re-established between the *Swissers*, the *Grisons*, the Subjects of his Highness, and the *Milanese*, on the same Foot as it was before ; and lastly, that the King of France should Pardon all the Subjects who had been in the Service of *Charles Emanuel* contrary to the Prohibition of his Majesty, and that he should restore to them his Favour, and their Estates and Dignities.

Great Difficulties were raised about the way and manner how the King of *Spain* and the Duke of Savoy should disarm ; but at last they agreed upon that Expedient, to preserve the Honour of his Catholick Majesty entire, and to remove the Suspicions that *Charles Emanuel* pretended to have for the safety both of his own Person and *Piemont*. That the Marquess de *Rambouillet* should desire his Highness to withdraw a Thousand

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sand Men of his Foot from *Ast*, and afterwards that he should likewise desire the Governours of *Milan* to Command the Spanish Army to quit the Posts they had seized near *Ast*, and to retire to some certain Places markt out to them. And now behold another Ceremony : The French Ambassadour was then to Demand of the Duke of *Savoy* to evacuate the Town of *Ast*, and leave there but such a Garrison as should be necessary for the Security of that Place in time of Peace, and to do his best Endeavours that the same Day of the Evacuation, *Inoiosa* should withdraw all the Troops that were under his Command from out of the Territories of his Highness. But this was not all : The Duke of *Savoy* had promised in good earnest to disarm, and to disband his Army. After which, according to the Word the Marquels de *Rambouillet* had past, his Catholick Majesty should dispose of his Troops in such a manner, that they should give no Umbrage nor Jealousie to the Duke of *Savoy*, nor any other Prince of *Italy*. It is a Pleasure to me to relate these Particulars, because one may observe in it the ridiculous Pride of the Spaniards in a Transaction, wherein by their own Confession, they had neither Honour nor Advantage. For indeed, if the Catholick King did not seem to Treat as with his Equal, when he treated with an Inferior Prince, and if the Duke of *Savoy* made the first Paces towards him, yet notwithstanding

1615. standing he did at least manage Affairs so well, that he only appear'd to yield at the pressing Instances and Sollicitations which the French King, the King of England, the Republick of Venice, and the Pope had made to him of restoring Peace to Italy; besides he got this Advantage by it, that he secured himself from the Resentment and Insults of Spain, by obtaining that France, England and the Republick of Venice should be Guarantees of the Treaty. Philip III. did most apparently shew his weaknes on this Occasion, in this that all the World took Notice, how that he would not have carried himself even with such an open Haughtiness towards the Duke of Savoy, if the Queen and Council of France had been less devoted to Spain. However, the Court of Madrid was at that time, either more Cunning, or more Fortunate, than the Court of Versailles hath been of late. And Philip III. came off more honourably with Charles Emanuel, than Lewis XIV. did some few Years ago with Victor Amedeus II.

I have given you an Account that the Catholick King, and his Ministers did not appear at the Treaty. The French Ambassador was the only Person that stipulated with the Duke of Savoy. However it was but reasonable that the Governour of Milan should give him some Security. The Honour of the Most Christian King, and the Interest of Charles Emanuel did require it. Wherefore in order to have
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the Signature of the Marquess of *Inoiosa*, this Expedient was found out by *Rambouillet*. He wrote two Lettets to the Gouvernour, to desire him to let him know, whether he would perform the Conditions of the Treaty, after that the Duke of *Savoy* should have faithfully performed his Part. *Inoiosa* sent back these very Letters to the French Ambassadour, with a Note under his own Hand in the Margin, whereby he passed his Word, that he should exactly perform all things contained in each of those Letters. Carleton Ambassadour from *England*, did promise in writing to the Duke of *Savoy* the Guaranty of the Treaty in the Name of the King his Master. But the Republick made some Difficulty about entering into the like Engagement. These wary Politicians were afraid lest they should involve themselves under a Necessity of entering into a War with *Spain*, if that Crown should refuse to ratifie a Treaty which was not over-much conduced to her Honour. The *Venetians* therefore did only Promise to join themselves with *France* and *England*, for the Defence of the Duke of *Savoy*, in case that the *Spaniards* should not perform what they had promised.

'Tis not to be imagined what great Acclamations and Eulogies the *Italians*, who were but ill affected to *Spain*, gave to the Duke of *Savoy* after the Conclusion of the Treaty. They did equal him to the Great-

Different Sentiments concerning the Treaty of Aix between Spain and Savoy:

Vittorio Siri
Memorie recondire.

Tom. III.

pag. 367.

268 &c.

Nani Historia
Veneta. I. 2.
est Anno 1615.

est Captains of ancient *Rome*; they extolled him for his Prudence, his Courage and his Undauntedness; they admired the Magnanimity of that Prince where-with he had so well maintained his Rank, and brought the King of *Spain* to such Terms as to make a shameful Treaty with him, that so he might preserve the remains of a numerous Army, which his Highness by his Conduct had stopt, and almost entirely destroyed. Flattery is an unseparable Companion of Slavery. And I might say that it has always been more Extravagant in *Italy* than any where else, if the French who are reduced themselves to Slavery, had not in these Days vainly gloried in carrying it on still further than some Nations oppressed and ruined by a long and dismal Tyranny. The Parasites that were about *Charles Emanuel* did Promise him no less than the Glory of being in a short time the Restorer of the Liberty and Power of *Italy*. What Delight soever his Highness took in hearing the Praises and Applauses that were given by those that vied with another who should most exceed; yet notwithstanding the Smoke of this Incense did not so stifle his Understanding as to make him insensible of the Severity of the Law, that had been imposed on him for disarming forthwith, nor from perceiving the great Desolation of his Country, the ill Conditions of his ruined Subjects, the draining of his Treasures, and in a Word, the little Advantage he

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he had got by all the Pains he had been at, and the Dangers through which he had run. And to what did all this tend in the Consequence but only to a Treaty, whereby *Charles Emanuel* got not one Inch of Ground ? These Considerations were so bitter and cutting to him, that in the midst of his imaginary Triumph, he was setting all his Wits at Work, how to find out some Shifts and Artifices, whereby he might be able to dispence with the breaking of his Army, and to keep himself in a Condition of making a second Attempt against *Spain*, whose weakness was not then unknown to him. But if *Charles Emanuel* was so highly applauded, for having before *Ast* disappointed an Army as ill commanded as it was strangely composed, what would not these Men say in the Commendation of *Victor Amedeus II.* ? How great Encomiums would they have given him for having driven away the *French* from *Montferate*, who had been puffed up before with the many Victories they had obtained over his Highness, for having forced *Lewis* the Great humbly to Desire Peace of him, and to surrender up to him what *France* had got with so much Pains and Difficulty beyond the *Alps* ?

But as the chiefest Officers of the *Spanish* Army had lived in an open Mis-understanding among themselves during this War, so they had very different Thoughts about the Treaty of *Ast. Inoiosa*, and the

1615. rest of his Party pretended that it was very honourable on their King's side) and others were dissatisfied with the Conduct of the Marquess, and highly complained of the Affront the Spanish Nation suffered thereby. The Gouvernor of the Castle of *Milan* was in such a furious Outrage at it, that he forbade his Garrison to fire so much as a single Musket at the entry of *Inoiosa* into *Milan*: This Man as vain as he was unskilful, designed to have come back in Triumph after this his fine Expedition. The Marquess of *Bedmar*, Ambassador from *Spain* at *Venice*, was extreamly Proud and Jealous of the pretended Glory of his Master. He made some Observations upon the Passages of the Treaty which he thought were Injurious to his Catbolick Majesty, and immediately sent to *Madrid* the Articles of the Peace, together with his own Remarks upon them. *Bedmar* complained also to *Leon Brulart*, Ambassador of *France* to the Senate, in that the Marquess de *Rambouillet* had taken so little Care of the Honour of the King of *Spain*, and the Reputation of his Arms. *Brulart* maintained to *Bedmar* that seeing *Philip* seemed to impose the Law on the Duke of *Savoy* by the Treaty, it could not be denied but that it was honourable to his Majesty. As for what Concerns his Army, said *Brulart*, if neither of them have had the Success, nor the Reputation that might have been expected upon this Occasion, 'tis not the Marquess de *Rambouillet*'s

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bouillet's Fault. You must lay the Fault upon those who had the Management of the War. These Complaints of the Spaniards gave some cause to think that the Court of Madrid would not ratifie the Treaty, or else that the Peace would not continue long; but others more clear-sighted were of Opinion, that King Philip and the Duke of Lerma his Favorite, in good earnest desired Peace. And indeed, the Affairs of Spain were then in so bad a Posture, and the Army of Italy so much ruined, that it was not likely that King Philip would make any new Attempt quickly.

Don Antonio Pimentelli had been charged which carrying a Copy of the Treaty of Ast to Madrid. But the Count de Benevento sent forthwith an Express to meet him on the Road and advised to pretend he was fallen Sick by the way, and to give his Dispatches to the ordinary Courier. Benevento did not desire his Son should expose himself to the bad Reception the King would doubtless give to the Messenger who should bring the News that would be so displeasing to his Majesty. When this News was received in Spain, King Philip and his Ministers affected a very deep Silence at what had happened in Italy. But some others suffered themselves to be transported with their Resentments against the Marquess of Inoisoa. He is a Man, said they, as unskilled in Negotiations, as in the Conduct of an Army. The Ministers of Spain in Italy were against the

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ratifying of the Treaty ; but King *Philip* and the Duke of *Lerma*, who had a Design speedily and without any Noise, to bring the double Match with *France* to a Conclusion, made a shew as if they were heartily disposed to observe the Conditions of the Treaty in every Article. However they began to mistrust the sincerity of the *Spaniards*, when they found that his Catholick Majesty had called to Court *Don Pedro de Toledo Marquess de Villa Franca*, with an Intention to give him the Government of *Milan*. This Lord was of so different a Temper from that of *Inoiosa*, who was recalled upon the Account of his ill Management, and he so openly upbraided the Administration of the Marquess to whom he was to succeed, that from that time it was thought the face of Affairs would be throughly changed in *Italy*, so soon as the new Governor should be got to *Milan*.

Ferdinand Cardinal Duke of Mantua was as little pleased with the Treaty of *Ast* as the rest, although the Interest of his Family had been well enough settled by it, and he likewise rid of a bold and crafty Enemy, who would have created him a deal of Trouble, such as he would never have been able to get out of, if *France*, *Spain*, and the Republick of *Venice*, had not acted in concert to put a Cheque to the Designs of *Charles Emanuel* upon *Montferrate*. But the Cardinal Duke, who was always high-spirited and irresolute,

lute, took it ill that the Treaty should be concluded without having duly consulted his Pleasure and Inclination. And he complained especially that he had engaged him against his Will to Pardon his rebellious Subjects, who had imbraced the Party of the Duke of Savoy. Ferdinand was so terribly incensed at it, that without having any Regard to the Recommendation of the Marquis *du Rambouillet*, He caused one of those who were fallen into his Hands to be condemned to Death, and the Estates of some others to be confiscated, notwithstanding all that the Senate of *Venice*, and the Great Duke of *Tuscany* remonstrated to him upon that Head. The Spaniards who were not over solicitous about the punctual Observation of a Treaty, which made so little to their Honour, did not much trouble their Heads about putting a stop to the Proceedings of the Cardinal Duke of *Mantua*. And as for the Duke of *Savoy*, who was always taken up in contriving one Pretence or other how to keep up his Troops, which he broke as slowly as ever he could, and the Officers of which he still continually kept in Pay, the *Savoyard*, I say, was very glad that they had given him such an Opportunity to tell them, that he could not rely upon a Treaty, the Articles of which were so ill observed by his Enemies.

The new Intreagues that were on Foot
at the Court of France, kept Mary de Me-

New Intreagues
at the Court of
France.
Merc. Fran-
cois. 1615.

1615. *dicis in fuller Employment than the difference of the Duke of Savoy with the King of Spain.* She was more at a loss how to restore Tranquility in her Son's Dominions, than to carry on the Negotiations of the Peace of Italy. But having got her self freed from the vexatious Troubles that the States-General were the Occasion of, the Queen seemed to mind nothing else but Diversions and Shows. And now, as if it were to make Amends for those many melancholy Hours she had passed about the Proposals that had been transacted in the Hall of Bourbon, she resolved that *Madam*, the Eldest Daughter of France should Dance in that very Room on the 19 of March a most Magnificent Ball, illustrated by the Beauty of the Decorations, the Art of the Machines, and the rich Dresses of the Princesses and Ladies that were to be Attendant on her. *My Daughter, said Mary de Medicis, must give an Entertainment to the Publick before her Departure for Spain, that the People of Paris may Remember what a Princess France is going to lose.* But her Majesty perhaps designed that Entertainment rather to gratifie her own Natural Inclination to Luxury. Prodigality and Pleasure, than to give any Diversion to her Son's Subjects. The People do foolishly Applaud the Magnificence of those Princes who divert them with such kind of Spectacles, and do not consider that the Entertainment is kept at their own Expences. Heathens have

have with Contempt and Indignation spoke of their Emperours who were so weak as to Dance and Sing upon Publick Theatres. But do the Princes and Princesses in our Days any better maintain their Rank and Dignity, by doing those things which our Holy Religion Condemns ? These Diversions were so far from being contrary to the *Pagan Religion*, that they were oft times made a part of their Worship, and yet notwithstanding they would no otherwise allow of them, than only that their Princes should be there present as Spectators. And indeed 'tis a pitiful and ridiculous thing for crowned Heads, and those of the first Rank to Act and Dance upon a Stage, where Comedians and such Persons whose Profession makes them infamous or contemptible, appear at the same time with them. The Prince of *Condé* would also give a Ball during the *Carnaval*; but this was variously talkt on at the Court and elsewhere : Some did believe it only a Pretence, the better to carry on the secret Design the *Mareschal de Bouillon* was conspiring under the Name of his Highness : and others who were less penetrating, fancied, that he did it only to divert the Shagrin that the ill Success of his Intrigues in the Assembly of the States had brought upon him.

In the midst of these Sports and Recreations the Queen and the Prince of *Condé*'s Heads were working quite different ways.

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Mary de Me-
dici.*

1615. Disquiet and Vexation were cruelly tormenting them, whilst they made a shew of all the Gaiety and Jocundness in the World. *Mary de Medici's* was contriving how to break the Cabals she saw were framing against her Authority and reserved Designs ; and *Condé* was no less busie in finding out proper Methods to pull down the former and overthrow the latter. On the other Hand the Mareschal *d' Ancre* was springing at Court all the Mines imaginable to blow up the old Ministry, and to advance himself above the Princes and Great Lords, to whom he daily became more and more insupportable. *Conchini* being dissatisfied with the Alliance he had promised to enter into with *Villeroy*, because he did not seem devoted enough to his Interests, he did whatever he could to make this old Minister suspected to the Queen. He insinuated into her Majesty as if *Villeroy* was so far from promoting the Conclusion of the double Match with *Spain*, that he was keeping of it back, by the Obstacles he was continually starting whenever he negotiated with the Ambassadour of King *Philip*; and that that old and crafty Courtier was chiefly labouring to get himself established in the Heart of young *Louis*, by the means of the Mareschal *de Souvré*, and the Marques of *Courtenvaux* his Son, who had married the Grand-daughter of *Villeroy*, being persuaded that after he had gained the Confidence of the King, he should

should have all the merit to himself for concluding the double Marriage. 1615.

These Suggestions found an easie entrance into the mind of a Princess who was naturally inclined to Jealousie; and she shew'd so cold a Reception to *Villeroy*, that he went from off the Court almost out of Favour. From that time *Conchini* was contriving how to go back from the Promise he had made him of marrying his Daughter to the Marquess *de Villeroy*, Grand-son to the Secretary of State. *I cannot enter into an Alliance with a Man who serves so ill the Queen*, said he once to the Marquess of *Cœuvres*, who had negotiated this Match. *Besides that, I have several Reasons to complain against Villeroy and Alincourt his Son*. The Arch-bishop of Lions and the Deputies of that Province who are all dependants on the Marquess of Alincourt their Governor, have done me all the ill Offices that possibly they could in the Assembly of the States-General. *Cœuvres* did put a stop to the Mareschal's Proceedings, by representing unto him, that it highly concern'd his Interest that nothing should be precipitately carried on in this Affair, for fear it should come to be publickly known, that the Queen's Displeasure against *Villeroy*, proceeded purely from what *Conchini* had said to her of him. He approved of that Reason, but not without Hopes he should shortly meet with another Opportunity of breaking openly with *Villeroy*. But however, still the more to vex this

Mi-

1615. Minister, he brought it so to pass, that the Commander *Sillery*, Brother to the Chancellor whom *Villeroy* hated, was sent to *Madrid* in quality of Ambassador Extraordinary, there to put an end to the Business of the double Match, and to agree upon the Time for exchanging *Madem* the Eldest Daughter of France with the Infanta.

In the mean time *Alincourt* found an Opportunity to Restore his Father into the Queen's Favour, by serving the Mareschal d' *Ancre* in a great Quarrel he had with the Duke de *Longueville*. This Duke had the Government of *Picardy*, and the Mareschal commanded in the Town and Castle of *Amiens*, which was the Capital of that Province. This caused a Jealousie between them. The young Duke's Spirit being exalted by the Advantages which his Birth and the vast Riches of his Family gave him, could not bear the imperious and insolent Carriage which a petty Gentleman of *Florence* took upon him, who had no other merit to support him but only the Credit of his Wife, an intimate Confident of the Queen. Two Men of such Temper as these may soon find a Thousand Occasions for quarreling and clashing one with another. These Wranglings were carried so high that, the Duke came to *Paris* with a Design to meet the Mareschal, and to give him a Challenge. *Condebin* who was sufficiently informed of every thing, never stirred abroad,

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broad but with the Company of those whom his Favours had obliged to stick close to him. Perhaps this Affair would have broke out into some terrible Disorder, had not several Persons of Quality interposed betimes to prevent the Consequences of it. The Marquis d' Alincourt had (no less than his Father) Interest enough in the Family de Longueville; and he was one of those who laboured most effectually to the outward Reconciliation at least of the Duke and the Mareschal. The Queen took his good Offices very kindly, and since that Time her Majesty and Conchini did seem to have more Consideration for Villeroy.

Longueville, and most of the Great ^{The beginning} Lords being cruelly enraged at the Fa- ^{of the Fortune} vours Conchini still received, joined them- ^{of Charles} selves in a strict Alliance with the Prince ^{d' Albre de} Condé, in order to Ruin this Proud ^{Luines and} Ite- ^{his two Bro-} lian, and to pull down this excessive Au- ^{Memoirs of} thority of Mary de Medicis. The Mares- ^{Rohan.} chal de Bouillon, who was more incensed than any of them, in that the Queen, (fol- lowing the Genius of most Princes) ra- ^{the Great Men} ther chose to remember his former ca- balling against her, than the many Ser- ^{of the Kingdom,} vices he declared he had done for her Ma- jesty; used his utmost Endeavours to reu- ^{says, who were discontented, either on the} nite to the Prince of Condé, the Great Men ^{account of the particular Affronts they com-} complained they had received, or else out of ^{meer}

1613. *meer Envy, which is the basest and yet most common of all Vices.* But whilst they were thus at Work, in contriving the Ruin of the Queen's Favorite, another who was rising up, did insensibly insinuate himself into the Esteem of the King who was now come of Age. This was *Charles d' Albret de Luines*, who will in a short time advance himself to as great a Fortune as ever was seen. He was born at a Place called *Mornas* in the County of *Avignon*, where the Family of his Father did carry

Bernard His story of Lewis XIII. L. 4. Additions to the Memoirs of Castelnau L. Pag. 455. 456. &c.

the Marks of a very mean Nobility, though they do pretend it is pretty ancient. Luines came to Paris with his two Brothers, Honoratus and Leon d' Albret. One took the Name of Cadenet, and the other that of Brantes; such Lordships, says Bassompierre pleasantly enough, as a Hare may leap over every Day. But by the Ingenuity of their Eldest Brother, who got them married to the Heiresses of two noble and powerful Families, they came to bear the greatest Names and the finest Coat of Arms in the Kingdom. Some said also, that *Cadenet had been an Advocate at Orange.* However it was, *Luines*, whose Genius was naturally inclined to *Falconry*, found the way to make himself known to the young King, and to please him with Childrens Play, which he abundantly contrived for him.

The Count de *Lude*, on whom *Luines* and his Brothers at first attended, told them often, either in Railery, or by way of Reproach, that *they were good for nothing but*

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but to remove green Fays out of their Nests.

The Jeſt of this ſaying is not eaſily apprehended, but in all probability it was grounded upon this following Account. *Luines* had found out an Art how to teach *Waryangles* to catch Sparrows, and other ſmall Birds, just as our Hawks and Sparrow-Hawks catch the Game. Having then got Admittance to King *Lewis* his Preſence, who had naturally a great Inclination to hunting, and particularly with the Hawk, he made bold to Preſent to his Majecty two *Waryangles* that were admirably well Taught. The young King took a mighty Delight to ſee those Birds fly in the Garden of the *Thuilleries*, and to catch little Birds. But *Luines* had other Thoughts in his Head, besides those of diverting the Prince; and ſtill invented ſome other cuſting ways to Inſinuate himſelf into his Fa vor and Affection. The Mareschal d' *Ancre*, who made it his Buſineſs to inform himſelf of all the Inclinations of the King, did preſently ob ſerve, that he had more Kindneſs for *Luines* than for all the reſt who came to his Levee, and attend on him. *Conchini* re ſolved therefore to gain him over to his Inter eft, and ſo to play him off againſt *Souvre* and *Courtenaux* his Son, who had a great aſcendant over his Majecty but di d not love the *Italian*. And thus *Luines* obtain ed the Government of *Amboife* by the Recom mendation of a Favorite, who was glad he could bring him into his Dependence: An

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evident Proof, said a Person of Quality, who has left us his Memoirs, of the uncertainty and weakness of the fore-sight of Men. Ancre shall see himself ruined and undone by that very Man, from whom he did expect to be supported against two Men, that were not able to do him much Mischief. The Prince of Condé had resigned the Government of Amboise, upon the Advice he had received, that the States-General would demand at the Sollicitation of the Queen and her Ministers, that the Places given by the Treaty of Saint-Meneboud for a security until the calling of the Assembly, might be delivered into the King's Hand. In the mean time this procedure gave some umbrage to Conchini. He fancied that Condé had no other Design in this seeming Generosity of his, but to engage the Court to compel him (after the Example of the first Prince of the Blood) to resign likewise those Important Places which he had the Government of.

Intrigues of the Marechal de Bouillon had been convinced the last Year by his own Experience, that the Parliament of Paris had in the Parliament of Paris no very good Opinion of the Integrity and Capacity of the Prince of Condé, at least not enough to declare themselves in his Favour, even when he should openly make some notable Steps against the Court. And therefore Bouillon bethought himself that he should proceed more effectually, if he could prevail with the Parliament first to break with the Court, so that this Assembly of the Parliament should be necessitated

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cessitated to have recourse to the Prince and the Lords of his Party, that so they might support with their Name and Authority what the other should begin. The cunning Mareschal did so dexterously manage all these several Interests; he insinuated himself so adroitly into their Affections, and concerted this Intreague with so much Artfulness, that the principal Magistrates fell into the Snare which he had laid for them, and that even those who had resolved to keep out of the new Faction, found themselves engaged in it contrary to their own Inclinations. He join'd himself then to the Gentlemen of the long Robe, who were discontented upon several Accounts, as the Atrempys the Court it self made upon the King's Authority for the better establishing that of the Pope; the favourable Audience granted to the Clergy and Nobility, when those two Orders had begg'd of his Majesty the Reception of the Council of *Trent*, and to lessen the Jurisdiction of the Civil Magistrates in Respect to Ecclesiastical Causes; the Resolution taken in the Assembly of the States-General upon the concluding of the double Match; in short, because of the extraordinary Favours shewn to the Mareschal *d'Ancre* who was universally hated through the whole Kingdom, and especially at *Paris*. *Bouillon* did so dexterously foment and increase those Discontents, that he powerfully engaged the Magistrates to take up a vigorous Resolution to reform the

1615. the State of the Nation, and represented to them the Glory and the Consideration that the Parliament would certainly acquire, by obtaining what the Assembly of the three Orders of the Kingdom had so weakly, and to no Purpose demanded : In a Word, he made the Magistrates sensible that if they would perform their Duty, and shew some Zeal for the Publick Good, the Princes and Great Lords would second their Remonstrances so thoroughly, that the Queen should be forced to take them into her Favour.

The Mareschal was too well acquainted with the Temper and Methods of the Court of *France*, and too conversant in Publick Affairs, not to foresee that the Parliament would meet with repulse, so soon as ever they should meddle with the particulars of the Government. And that was the very thing which *Bouillon* so earnestly wish'd for ; being persuaded the People would be outrageous, that the Court should reject the Remonstrances the Parliament should make for the Good, Ease, and Benefit of the Subjects, and consequently, that they would exclaim and declare themselves in favour of the Magistrates, and those who should stand by them in their Demands. It was enough for the Mareschal to get an Assembly so much respected by the People, to be engaged in an Attempt, that would at last force them to break out. *Bouillon* likewise knew how to make his own Advantages

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ages by the difference between Men the best affected for the publick Good, and those that were depurated by the three Orders of the Kingdom. They had but a very little while since been sent into their respective Provinces, notwithstanding the Promises the King had so many times made them, that he would before their breaking up, give a gracious Answer to the Articles of their Memorials. Those of the *Third State*, who had shew'd more Zeal and Integrity than the Clergy and Nobility, incouraged underhand by the Envysaries of the Marechal, did not contribute a little to put the Parliament into Motion, their Offices and Employments making them pretty nearly related to that Assembly. And still to animate the great Lords the more to join themselves to the Prince of *Condé*. *Bouillon* was also at the same time mighty busy about some Negotiations with *Edmond Ambassador* from *England*, then in *France*. And tho' there was little or no Ground to depend upon a weak King, and one who was dependant on his Ministers; however the Marechal was of opinion, that it would be still to his Advantage, if he could but say, that King *James* would assist the new Party. Indeed his *Britannick Majesty* gave very good Words, by the sollicitation of his Ambassador, who was labouring all he could to break the double Marriage, the dangerous Consequences of which he plainly enough foresaw would hap-

1615. happen to the whole Body of the Protestants.

There remained nothing more to do now, but to gain over the Reformed Party. Bouillon had a pretty large Interest amongst them, and he fail'd not to carry on his Designs with them. Rouvrai, Des Bordes, Mirande, and Bertheville, able Men and of great Reputation, had been deputed to the Court by the Reformed Churches, in order to obtain leave of the King for them to hold a general Assembly. Bouillon made himself sure of them, by representing to them the Remedies he pretended to apply to the Disorders of the Kingdom, and the Advantages the Reformed would receive thereby. How honest and pious soever the Sentiments of Men be for Religion and Pro-bity, they are yet notwithstanding often-times more touched with the Sense of their own Interest, than of that for the Publick Good. The Mareschal who was well acquainted with the Disposition of those Deputies, came over them on the weakest side. He promised to one of them, the going Ambassador to the States-General of the United Provinces; To an other, an Office in the Chamber of the Edict; and to a third, the Place of Deputy-General of the Reformed Churches of France: Powerful and persuasive Motives, says the Duke de Rohan.

*A Decree of the Parlia-
ment of Paris, Agitation in the Parliament, that all the
Chambers began to act as in concert, and
to*

to follow the Impressions which the dexterous Mareschal had caused to be instill'd into them. Three Days after the King had openly declared to those Deputies, to the Assembly of the States-General, that they might return to their several Provinces.

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Princes, the
Peers, and
Officers of the
Crown,

Two Magistrates of each Chamber of *Inquests*, were nominated to go and desire *Verdun*, the first President, then sitting in the Great Chamber, to call all the others together. The Design of the Magistrates was *To consult amongst themselves about the Remonstrances that the Parliament had a long time before resolved to make to the King*. *Verdun*, who had been well prepared to receive that Proposal, sent immediately to call the Chamber de la Tournelle, those of the *Edict*, and of the *Requests*, and the five Chambers of the *Inquests*. *Fayet*, President in the first Chamber of *Inquests*, acquainted that numerous Senate, that they had demanded this extraordinary Convocation to put them in mind of what the King had promised, *viz.* That he would give no *Answer* to the *Cabiers* presented unto him by the Deputies of the three Orders of the Kingdom, nor take any Resolution, till he had first heard the Remonstrances that his Parliament had to make to him. Now 'tis time to consider what we ought to represent to his Majesty, added *Fayet*. Affairs are at present in such a posture, as do not suffer us to put it off any longer. If our Remonstrances were at any time necessary for the publick Good, and the Service of the King, they are so now more than ever.

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The

The Assembly met three times to deliberate upon this Proposal. All Voices were for humbly beseeching his Majesty, to hearken to the Remonstrances that the Parliament thought themselves oblig'd in Conscience to make to him for the Service of the King, for the Maintenance of his Authority, for the Preservation of his Person, and for the good of the Realm. But the Assembly was divided about the time and manner of executing this Resolution, that so their Remonstrances might be of more Weight and Efficacy. Some proposed, since it was commonly reported, that the King would come in few Days to the Parliament, that they should resolve upon their Remonstrances, that they might present them at that time, and speak on that Occasion with as much Courage as Freedom. Others were of Opinion, that they should first pray the King to command the Chancellor, the Princes, and Officers of the Crown, who have deliberative Voices in the Parliament, to attend it, and give their Advice upon the Proposals that should be made for the Service of his Majesty, and the good of the Kingdom. But the most zealous and most discerning Magistrates mistrusted this Advice, because, they were throughly perswaded, that the Queen and Ministers of State would never advise the King to grant such a Demand. However, this Motion occasioned the proposing of another Expedient, which was generally accepted. *Seeing the Princes,*

ces, the Dukes Peers, and the Officers of the Crown, are Members of this Parliament, said some of the most violent against the Court, we may well invite them our selves, to come and take their Place upon such an Important Occasion as this is. These Great Persons do not want a special Licence from the King for that Purpose. Doth not their Birth, or their Dignity, give them a Right to sit in Parliament, whenever they pleased? This Proposal was approved of by the Parliament; so that according to this Resolution, a Decree was issued out the 28th of March, Ordaining, That the Princesses, the Dukes Peers, and the Officers of the Crown having a right to sit and vote in Parliament, who were then at Paris, should be invited to come and deliberate with the Chancellor, and with all the Courts assembled, upon the Proposals that should be offered for the King's Service, the Ease and Relief of his Subjects, and the Good of his Kingdom.

The Court wanted neither Creatures nor Spies in this Parliament. One of these wretched Mercenary Souls immediately acquainted the Ministers with the Resolution that had been taken of issuing out this Decree. They failed not likewise to insinuate to the Queen, that the Parliament design'd to meddle with State-Affairs, to make Enquiry into the Government, and to take upon them to advise the King, without ever being sought to, or required. This is a downright Attempt upon the So-
The King for-
bids the
Prince of Con-
de and the
Lords of his
Party to go
to the Parli-
ament.

1615. Sovereign Authority, cryed these base Courtiers; the Design of the Magistrates is apparent enough. They have an Aim at the Regency of the Queen. These Gentlemen think of nothing less than to set up for Examiners and Judges of what has been done during the King's Minority. Mary de Medicis presently guessed at the Hand from whence this Blow came: And being perswaded that the Prince of Conde's Party had raised this new Commotion amongst the Gentlemen of the long Robe, she so managed Matters, that his Highness, and all the Lords that had declared themselves the last Year for the Prince, were forbidden, as from the King, to meet at the Parliament, in case they were invited to it.

*The King's
Officers in the
Parliament
were called to
the Louvre,*

The next Day Molé, the King's Attorney General, with Servin, and Le Bret, Advocates-General, were called to the Louvre. When they were admitted to the Audience of their Majesties, the Chancellor de Silleri, a vile and contemptible Slave to the Marechal d'Ancre, who notwithstanding in his Heart was no better inclined to him, than to the other Ministers of State; Silleri, I say, declared to these three Magistrates, whom the King had sent for, upon notice given him that the Parliament had resolved the Day before to call the Princes, the Dukes Peers, and the Officers of the Crown, to advise with them about the Government of the Kingdom. Their Majesties, added he, take it very strange, that the Parliament should per-

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presume thus to assemble by their own private Authority the first Persons of the Kingdom: Magistrates that are ordain'd only for the administ'ring of Justice to private Persons, have no power to do that. You do acquaint us, Sir, with a thing that before was unknown to us, answered Servin, very modestly, We have only been told that the Courts were assembled, in order to give the King a publick Mark of the sincere Zeal they have for the Service of his Majesty, for the Security of his Person, and for the good of the Realm. Mr. Advocate General, said the Queen then, we are informed from very good Hands of all that has been spoken in the Assembly of the Courts. There have been some Speeches made against the King's Authority: And the Decree issued out is a plain Demonstration thereof. This is a new Attempt, and unheard of hitherto.

The King's Council at Law, found they had a very ticklish Point of it. Honour and Justice obliged them to defend and justify the Proceedings of the Parliament. And on the other hand, their Employments required of them, that they should assert the King's Interest, as far as their Consciences could allow them; and they were obliged to take care of not displeasing his Majesty in a Case, wherein the Court complained of an Attempt made on the Sovereign Authority. Servin found out an Expedient to extricate them out of this Perplexity. He spoke with a great deal of Courage on behalf of the Assembly,

*The Wisdom
and Generosi-
ty of the Ad-
vocate-Gene-
ral Servin.*

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bly, and yet said not a Word that could detract from the Honour and Respect due to the Prince. Madam, replied the Advocate-General to the Queen, 'tis not unusual for us to be present at the Deliberations of the Parliament. We come into the Assembly when there is something to be advised about for the publick Good, and then we withdraw: 'Tis true, we have been summon'd on this Occasion to propose what we thought would be the most advantageous for the King's Service, and the Happiness of the Nation; but we have desired the Court to excuse us, seeing we had already given our Opinions thereupon three several times. It was not possible for us to explain our selves any further, because his Majesty had not then given any Declaration upon the Remonstrances made to him by the States-General. What we know to be most certain, is, that the Parliament never had the least Thoughts of making any Attempts upon the King's Authority. They have only a Design to propose some Overtures that might be advantageous for the King's Service, and the Relief of the People. And if the Assembly has resolved to invite the Princes, the Dukes Peers, and the Officers of the Crown, they have no other Design in so doing, but to have the Chancellor and the first Persons of the Kingdom to be Witnesses of their inviolable Fidelity and Inclination to the Service of his Majesty. All the Members of the Parliament would be very much concerned, if it was possible for any Man to reproach them

of

of having been wanting in their Duty. They do profess themselves to be the most Zealous Defenders of the King's Sovereign Authority, and will be always his Majesty's most bumble Servants. I will call my Council to advise about all this, said at last the young King, who had been prevailed upon to let his Chancellor and his Mother speak first, That may be done presently, repli'd Mary de Medicis. We must call the Council, and take a Resolution about this Busines.

When the Council was assembled, the King commanded the three Magistrates to wait in the Council-Chamber, that they might hear the Resolution his Majesty should take there: But they intreated him that he would be pleased to give them leave to withdraw, seeing the Council was going to take into Consideration a Decree, that issued out from a Body whereof they were Members. If any Body, added Servin; with a Freedom full of Respect, should go about to speak against the Parliament, we should be obliged to maintain the Legality of the Decree. Wherefore we beseech you, Sir, to leave us in a Capacity of serving your Majesty, as our Employments require us. The Excuse of the King's Council was approved of, and they retired accordingly into the little Closer, to wait the Orders of his Majesty. And about an Hour after, they were called in. I have again called you in, said King Lewis unto them, (whom they had taken care to instruct how to speak with a more grave

1615. and Serious Air, than was becoming a just and a clement Prince) to command you what I have resolved on in my Council, and I will have you to go your selves and acquaint my Parliament with it. Servin did humbly intreat his Majesty to excuse them from carrying any such unpleasant Orders to the Chamber of Parliament. Our Office, said he, requires that we should be favourably heard by the Parliament, whenever we have any thing to request of the Magistrates. We protest to you, Sir, that the Parliament hath all the Zeal that your Majesty can possibly wish them to have for the Preservation of your Authority, and the Prosperity of your Kingdom. The more Confidence the Parliament shall put in us, the better shall we be capable of serving you as we ought to do. And to oblige us to deliver such Messages to them as will be highly displeasing, it will but exasperate them against us, and make us to lose the Credit that we have obtained in that Assembly.

Mary de Medicis was grievously vexed when she saw that the King's Council refused to comply, tho' it was with a great deal of Respect. You would get more Honour and Esteem, said she unto them in a great Passion, by obeying the King. Those Words fired the Advocate-General. And withal he observed with Indignation, that one of the most violent Prelates for the new Opinion of the Superiority of the Pope, came up to hear with greater Satis-

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tisfaction, how severely their Majesties expressed themselves against the Parliament. *Madam*, answered *Servin*, raising up his Voice on purpose, that the inquisitive and malicious Prelate might hear what he said, *We have obtained long ago the Glory of rendering that Obedience which we owe to the King, and which all those who bear us do owe him likewise, of what quality soever they may be.* *We have always, and we shall still shew them by our Discourses and by our Examples, Sir,* continued the Advocate-General, turning himself towards the King, *that you hold your Authority from God alone, and that you in no way depend upon any other Power whatsoever, as to what concerns the temporal Government of your Kingdom.* *We have had the Honour of having served the late King and your Majesty almost these thirty Years.* *We have never been wanting in our Duty.* Your Parliament has always signaliz'd themselves by their Fidelity; and we shall all continue in the same Sentiments to the End of our Days.

All the Instances of the King's Council proved ineffectual; They received an Express Order to go themselves and acquaint the Parliament with the Reasons alledged in the King's Council, why his Majesty was justly displeased with the Decree that had been issued out the Day before. The first Reason was, That the King being at Paris, the Parliament should not have assembled themselves to consult about

The King forbids the Parliament to proceed any further to put the Decrees into Execution.
Mercure Francois.
1615

bout the Affairs of the Government, nor to invite the Princes, the Dukes, Peers, and the Lords, who have a Right of sitting in Parliament, without having first acquainted his Majesty with it. But they were not assembled to deliberate about the Affairs of the Government. Had not the King promised, that he would not answer the Cahiers of the States-General, till he had first heard the Remonstrances, which the Parliament should think fit to make him? Therefore it was expedient they should meet to agree how they should draw up their Remonstrances. And besides, this Business being of very great moment to the whole Kingdom, the Parliament was indeed to be commended for having desired the Advice of the Princes and the Lords, who had a right to be present at such their Deliberations. There was no need of the King's Permission to invite them to the Assembly. Is not every private Man allow'd to desire the Princes and Peers of France, to be present at the Tryal of his Suit at Law? They should not then have found fault with the Parliament for having decreed, that the Princes, the Peers and Officers of the Crown, should be entreated to come to the Chamber of the Parliament, to assist them with their good Advices in a matter so difficult in it self, and so very important to the Service of the King, and the Good of the People.

The

The second Reason likewise was no better grounded. *The King is of Age according to the Laws*, said they, *tho' all his other Subjects are under Age at his Years*. God having favour'd him with extraordinary Talents, He ought to be accounted more virtuous than any other Man. In fine, his Authority is no less than that of his Predecessors. There are often very poor things said in King's Councils, as well as in other Places. The World hath not yet perceived, that the Oil of the Holy [†] Am-
Vial where
in is kept the
pretended mi-
raculous Oil
wherewith the
French Kings
are anointed.
poule works as great Miracles as that poured out by the Prophets whom God was pleased to send. Lewis XIII. was not changed into an other Man at Rheims. He still remained after his Coronation a Prince of very indifferent Parts, and uncapable of Governing. But in short, how extraordinary soever the Wisdom of a King of France might be, the Parliament has a Right established in them from time immemorial, which impowers them to make their Remonstrances to him. The Parliament did not question King Lewis his Majority, or being of Age: They did not pretend to allow him a lesser Power than his Predecessors had. The Magistrates did only with a natural Freedom and Courage represent what was most proper to be done for the good of the Kingdom.

The third Reason is as pitiful as the two former. *This extraordinary Convocation could not be held, but pursuant to the*

1615. King's Letters Patent. 'Tis a sole Pre-rogative belonging to his Sovereign Power. But pray, do the Princes and the Peers of France take out Letters-Patent from the King of France every time that they sit in Parliament? Have they not a Right to meet there as soon as they have attained to the Age prescribed by the Laws? Has not every private Man the Liberty of desiring them to meet there upon any Occasion whatsoever? In short, the King's Council at Law received an Order as harsh and unjust, as the Reasons whereupon they endeavoured to strengthen it were ill and ridiculous. They declared unto them, *That the King's Order was, that the Record of their Deliberation should be sent to Him, and that his Attorney and Advocate-General should come themselves with the Decree of the Parliament.* They were also acquainted, that his Majesty forbade the Magistrates to proceed any further in putting the Decree into Execution, and that his Will and Pleasure was, *That the King's Council at Law should wait on Him, to inform his Majesty how the Parliament had received his Orders.*

*The Weakness
of the Parlia-
ment of Paris.*

The King's Council were obliged to obey a Command that was so positive and express. Whereupon they gave notice the next Day, that they had something to say as from his Majesty. *Verdun*, the first President, caused all the Chambers to be called; and *Servin*, Advocate-General, declared to them with all the handsomness he

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he possibly could, the Pleasure of the King. He added, to comfort them in some measure, that a considerable number of Lords were of Opinion, that the Parliament might of themselves make their most humble Remonstrances, provided, they would take care to keep within the bounds of their Duty in them. It must be ingenuously owned, that *Servin's* Desire to lessen as well as he could so great an Affront, put him upon saying several things, that did not become altogether his Gravity, and the Knowledge he had of the true Merit of the several Members of that numerous Assembly. And he went so far as to break into this ridiculous piece of Flattery, that the Senate meeting in *Paris* was no less Illustrious than the Senate of *Rome* in the time of the *Cato's* and *Ciceron's*. The Advocate-General spoke perhaps more truly than he thought for himself. *Cicero* did look upon the Senate in his time, as being but the Dregs of ancient *Rome*: And it was in a great measure the same with the Parliament of *Paris*, from the time of the Minority of *Lewis XIII*. However, I will not deny, but there were still among them some Magistrates, of Probity and well affected to their Country, but yet they were but very few in number. Some of them sold themselves to the Court, and others acted rather by a Spirit of Faction, and Party, than out of any sincere Zeal for the publick Good. In truth, the Parliament of

Mercure
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Paris was then more like the Senate of *Rome*, such as it was the latter End of *Augustus* his Days, than the Senate which was so highly commended for the Virtue of the *Fabicians*, *Scipio's* and *Emilians*. The Magistrates of *France* were then running into *Slavery*. And under this present Reign they are become as contemptible as those of whom a Tyrant said with Indignation, *That they were all made for Slavery*.

The Resolution taken by the Parliament pursuant to the Report made by the King's Council, was a most convincing Proof that the Magistrates had already very much degenerated from the Virtue and Courage of their Predecessors. Like Persons struck by a Thunderbolt, they were all mute and stood at gaze. They at last tumultuously order'd, that those Counsellors should carry the Decree to his Majesty, and declare unto him that the Parliament pretended to do nothing, but according to the good Pleasure of the King: In fine, that they should protest unto him, that his Majesty shall never meet with from his Parliament but most humble Obedience and most faithful Service. If those grave Senators have still retained some Virtue and Courage, 'tis only for securing the sacred Person of the King against those who teach, that one may in some Occasions attempt upon the Life of Sovereigns. *Servin* himself became quite another Man. Nothing is more servile and cring-

cringing than the Compliment he made to the King in presenting him the Arrest of the Parliament. *The Assembly*, said he, *is very much concerned for having displeased your Majesty. There is nothing in the World that they more heartily desire than the Preservation of your Sovereign Authority, and nothing is dearer to them than your Favour. By these means only we may acquire Honour, and serve the Publick in the Administration of our Offices.* How great soever might have been the Nicety of the Court, yet these Submissions of the Parliament were acceptable to her in a time of Troubles and Commotions. The Speech of the Advocate-General was heard with Pleasure ; and the young King answered to it, that he would see the Arrest, and that by the first Opportunity he would acquaint the Parliament with his Intentions.

Mary de Medicis was in hopes that the Proceedings of the Parliament would go no further. But the Mareschal of Bouillon was not of a Temper to stop in so fair a way. He did not trouble himself much with the Checks the Parliament received from the Court. On the contrary, their Mortifications were conducing to the end he had proposed to himself, of engaging at last the Parliament to break out, and in order to prepare the better the Minds of the People to receive the Complaints and the Manifesto's the Prince of Condé and those of his Party were contriving for raising the People against the Queen and her

New Motions
in the Par-
liament of Pa-
ris.

her *Conchini*. Therefore the Mareschal of *Bouillon* set his Hands to work with all his might for recovering the Magistrates from the great Consternation they had been struck with by the Thundering Orders of the Court. He represented them what shame the Parliament would be exposed to, if they should let drop so courageous a Proceeding as the Writ issued out for the Convocation of the Princes, the Peers, and the Officers of the Crown. He magnified the Attempts of the Queen and her Ministers, and the ill Management of Affairs. In fine, he acquainted them, that the first Prince of the Blood, and the chiefest Lords of his Party were impatiently expecting, that the Magistrates should have made their Remonstrances for declaring themselves immediately after, in favour of the Parliament. The lively Exhortations of the Mareschal were so much the more effectual, because *Verdun* the first President kept Correspondence with him, or at least, he had almost the same Sentiments, and the same Desires with *Bouillon*. *Verdun* was the Creature of *Villeroy*. This old and dexterous Courtier was not displeased that the Queen should be necessitated to remove the Mareschal *d'Ancre* and the Chancellor *de Sillery*, who were contriving how to undo the Secretary of State; or at least, that she should be reduced to have her Recourse to him to stop the Proceedings of the Parliament, or to manage

a Negotiation with the Prince of Condé 1615.
and the Lords of his Party.

The 9th of April, three Presidents of the Inquests were sent to acquaint the first President sitting in the great Chamber, that all the others demanded, that it might be put into deliberation, whether it was not fitting to beseech the King ^{Mercure Francois.} to give an Answer to the Parliament, and to acquaint them with his Will, according to the Promise of his Majesty. 'Tis not well, added those Deputies, that the Resolutions of the Parliament should be stopt, because some Courtiers do surprize the King and make an ill Use of the Trust he puts in them. As soon as the Court was informed of this new Motion of the Magistrates, the Presidents *au Mortier* were presently called to the Louvre, as also four of the most ancient Councillors of the great Chamber, and the like number of Presidents of the Chambers both of Inquests and Requests of the Palace. They were conducted to the Audience of the King, who had been instructed by his Mother, how to speak to them in a high and angry Tone. Gentlemen, said he, seeing that you have desired to know my Answer concerning the Arrest that my Officers have brought to me, my Chancellor shall acquaint you with it.

Sillery spoke next; but in a manner quite unbecoming a first Magistrate, whose Dignity required of him, that he should be a kind of a Mediator betwixt the Sovereign and the People. The Chancellor

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*The Parlia-
ment recei-
ved a second
Mortification
from the King.*

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Francois.
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declared plainly to the Parliament, that the King was much displeased at the Attempt made upon his Authority, without having any regard that he was of Age, and then present in the Capital City of his Kingdom, 'Tis a thing unreasonable, and without Precedent, pursued he, that you would presume to assemble the Princes, the Peers, and the Officers of the Crown. Never any Parliament did the like. Can any Man believe that his Majesty does not know that the Power and the Jurisdiction of the Parliament have their bounds? They have no more right to meddle with what concerns the Government of the Kingdom, than to take cognizance of the Affairs of Accompts and Gabels. The Kings have kept the Affairs of the Government to themselves, and have left the Cognizance of the others to two several Tribunals. Men in high Stations readily take upon themselves the Liberty of asserting boldly the greatest Absurdities, and even suppose that their Inferiors shall not have Wit enough to take notice thereof.

If the Parliament of Paris, according to its ancient and first Institution, cannot take cognizance of what concerns the Government of the Kingdom, why have always the Kings sent them their Edicts and Declarations in order to verify them? Why have they hearkened to the Remonstrances the Parliament has made unto them upon the necessities of the People, and the Lawfulness and unlawfulness of their Or-

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Ordinances, which they submitted to the Examination of the Magistrates? How came it to pass, that the Princes, the Peers, and the Officers of the Crown, who are the right and the most ancient Council of State, do sit in the Parliament? What Reason had *Mary de Medicis* to be so very much urgent for being declared in Parliament Regent of the King during the Minority of her Son? What need was there for *Lewis XIII* to go to the Parliament, to the end that he might be owned to be of age, and capable of governing for the future by himself? The Chancellor did very impertinently alledge the Answer that the first President *de La Vaquerie* made to the Duke of *Orleans* in the time of *Charles VIII*; some high Proceedings of *Lewis XII*, and *Francis I*, in regard to their Parliament; the Example of *Charles IX*, who caused a deliberation of the same to be razed out of their Registers, because he thought that it was against his Authority. If *la Vaquerie* did not think fit to second in some occasions the Designs of the Duke of *Orleans*, that does no way lessen the Authority of the Parliament. No Man of Sense and Probity will propose *Francis I*, or *Charles IX*, for Models of a good Prince. And if *Lewis XII* hath sometimes rejected with too much Pride the Remonstrances of his Parliament, has he thereby deserved the Fame of a good King, and the Surname of *Father of the People*? The best Princes are guilty of some

Faults

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Faults and Mistakes, but not so often as others, nor in so material Points.

However, let us pass by the trifling Arguments of *Silleri*. But how can we forgive him his baseness for having attempted, against his own Conscience, and against the Interest of a Kingdom, (one of the first Places whereof, he filled up with so little Honour,) to take away from the Parliament a Right which they had possessed from immemorial time, and which they would have preserved still, had not the violent Advices of the Ministers of *Lewis XIV* induced him to carry on his Injustice much farther than his Father had done before him. What the Chancellor says in the Series of his Discourse, discovers so much Baseness and Corruption, that I am ashamed to relate it. *Your Court, which is the first in the Kingdom, holding its Authority from the King, ought to make no other Use of it, but for asserting the Authority of his Majesty.* 'Tis true, that Sovereigns having originally the right of naming to the Magistracy such as were capable of worthily filling up those Places, it may be said in one Sense, that Magistrates hold their Authority from the King; but does it follow from thence, that in return of that Benefit received from the King, Magistrates should help him to extend his Power beyond its lawful Bounds, and to settle himself above all the Laws? *Silleri* endeavour'd in the conclusion of his Discourse, to temper the uneasiness which he ob-

observed on the Face of the first President, and those who accompanied him. His Majesty, said he, is informed that the Arrest was issued out by the Advice of the young Councillors. The greatest number has carried it against the Ancient and the Wisest part of the Assembly, who were of a contrary Opinion. The King is well pleased with the Latter, and his Majesty will remember their Fidelity: He desires that they will continue in the same. The Chancellor concluded by an express Injunction to the Parliament, forbiding them to put their Arrest in Execution, for assembling the Princes, or the Peers of France, and never to take for the future this Affair into their deliberation. As all things had been concerted before, the young King was instructed how to confirm with Gravity and Master-like, what Silleri should tell them. Gentlemen, said his Majesty, what the Chancellor has told you, I do tell you my self. You shall have to morrow my Answer in Writing. In the mean time, I forbid you to proceed any further upon those Affairs.

The first President answered the King with great Respect, Wisdom, and Courage, and what he said in few Words, should have covered Silleri with Confusion, if a Man bold, and prostituted to the Court, could be sensible of shame, which has been so wisely named the Punishment of honest Men. Sir, said Verdun, 'tis with a most sensible Grief we see that after having so faithfully served your Majesty and the late King Mercure Francois. 1615. your

your Father, our Services are so ill rewarded. We could never have imagined that you would be displeased with us, and that by putting a finishtous Construction upon our Resolutions, our Proceedings should be lookt upon as so many Invasions of your Authority. If it were allowed us to reply to what you have told us your self, and what the Chancellor has acquainted us with as from you, it would not be much difficult to shew, that the Kings your Predecessors have always been satisfied with the Proceedings of the Parliament, and that during the Reigns alledged by the Chancellor, our Assembly has received the due Commendations they have deserved. But we have been called on a sudden by your Order, so that it was impossible for the Parliament to give us any Order for explaining their true Sentiments to your Majesty. We will not fail to report to the Assembly what you have declared unto us, and what we have heard from the mouth of the Chancellor. We only beseech your Majesty to put a favourable Construction upon our Arrest. It has been drawn up, not by the Advice of the youngest of the Assembly, but by an unanimous Consent of all the Members thereof. The young and the ancient Counsellors have equally concurred thereto. We did all of us believe, that instead of attempting thereby upon your Authority, we should give to your Majesty a new Proof of the Sincerity of our Intentions, and of our Affection to his Service.

The Queen at last broke silence; but it was rather for insulting the Magistrates,

than

than for comforting them, as she would fain insinuate. Gentlemen, said Mary de Medicis, I am informed that the young Men in the Assembly have proposed their Advice, and that they have got the Arrest to pass by the Majority of Voices. I am not displeased with the Assembly. I return Thanks to the ancient Counsellors and all those who have opposed that Innovation. The King my Son will remember their Fidelity, and I will make my Endeavours to prompt him to bestow some Tokens of his Kindness upon them. The first President did perceive with grief that they would represent the Advice of the base Slaves of the Court as that of the ancient and wisest Counsellors; and being justly provoked to hear, that they promised Rewards to those very Men who betrayed the Interest both of the People and Parliament, he thought himself obliged to speak to the Queen with less Circumspection than he had done to his Sovereign. Madam, said Verdun, we do most humbly desire you to be perswaded that we have been all concerned in the Arrest, to give no Credit to the contrary Report made unto you, and to favour us all equally with your Kindness and your Protection with the King.

The first President made his Report the next day to the Chambers then assembled: and the King's Officers out of Decency intreated the Parliament to make some humble and respectful Remonstrance to pacifie his Majesty's Anger: But after they were

*The Parlia-
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were withdrawn, the Parliament coming again to themselves, resolved that they should not depart from their first Resolution, and that a certain number of Counsellors should be chosen out of each Chamber, to draw up in concert with the Presidents, some necessary Remonstrances, which should be presented in writing to his Majesty. The Queen having been forthwith acquainted that the Parliament persisted in their Resolution, sent the *Huissier* of her Cabinet to the first President to command him to attend at the *Louvre* with the same Persons who accompanied him two Days before. *Silleri* did not appear at that Audience, and perhaps he was afraid of the first President of the Parliament, already too much provoked by the base Contrivances of the Chancellor, who was labouring for supporting his tottering Fortune. The Remonstrances they were about to draw up, caused him some Disturbance. He had given Causes enough to complain therein of his Covetousness and his shameful selling of Justice.

King *Lewis* told the Magistrates, that he had sent for them upon notice given to him, that notwithstanding his Injunctions to the Parliament, forbidding to make any Remonstrances upon the Affairs concerning the Government of the Kingdom, yet they had appointed some Men of each Chamber for the drawing of them, *upon which the Queen my Mother, added he, will declare you my Will.* She forthwith spoke, and

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and told them with a rough and menacing Tone, that such an Attempt was never heard of, and that her Son would punish the Contrivers thereof, if they persisted in their Disobedience. *He is your King and your Master, pursued Mary de Medicis; be perswaded that he shall exert his Authority if you trespass his Injunctions. Those are Men ill affected to his Service, who put you upon slighting his Orders.* The first President contented himself to answer coldly and in few Words, that he would acquaint the Parliament with the Intentions of the King. And yet notwithstanding the Committee appointed for drawing the Remonstrances went on with the same.

In so great a Commotion of Minds at the Court, in the Assembly of the States-General, in the Parliament and amongst the People, *Mary de Medicis* endeavour'd to make her self sure of the Reformed of France, for fear they should too strictly join themselves to the Prince of Conde, who was labouring to draw them into his Party. The Queen relying on the Probit y and Moderation of *du Plessis Mornas*, kept a good Correspondence with him. The Ministers and Secretaries of State did write often to him; and he was acquainted with all the Proceedings of the States-General. In fine, the Court made a shew, as if they valued much the Advices of that wise Gentleman, and were resolved to follow them upon all Occasions. By such Contrivances good Men are often

*Declaration
of the King in
the behalf of
the Reformed
and for ex-
plaining the
Oath taken at
his Coronation.*

*Mercure
Francois.*

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*Letters and
Memoirs de
M. du Plessis.*

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ten deceived. Their own Integrity and their Moderation hinder them from being as suspicious and mistrustful as they should be for securing themselves from being imposed upon by an artifidious Court. The Proposal made in the Chamber of the Nobility had occasioned a great Tumult in the Assembly of the States, and the Deputies of the Reformed Religion had complained of it with as much Courage as the Reasonableness of the case did require. The Ecclesiasticks, who had formerly drawn up the Oath that the Kings of France take at their Coronation, had taken care to insert the following Article therein : *I will endeavour sincerely and according to my Power to turn out of my Jurisdiction and Dominions, the Hereticks who are condemned by the Church.* The late King and Lewis XIII himself had issued out some Declarations, whereby they did express, that they pretended not to include the Reformed in that Oath ; but the Bigots were much offended thereat. I do not know what sort of Gentlemen encouraged by the Clergy, proposed in the Chamber of the Nobility, that the King should be humbly intreated by an Article in the general Cahier, *to take care to preserve the Catholick, Apostolick, and Roman Religion, according to the Oath taken at his Coronation :* But some Reformed Gentlemen in the Chamber of the Nobility, courageously opposed this Proposal ; and the Contest between the Reformed and the

the Catholicks was attended with so much Heat, that many were afraid of the ill Consequences thereof.

The Court being acquainted with these Proceedings, went immediately to work for removing the Umbrage and Suspicions, that such an untimely Proposal might have created amongst the Reformed Party, which they so carefully managed. The Queen was already informed of the Intrigues of the Mareschal of Bouillon. The 12th of March the King issued out a Declaration, wherein after having excused, right or wrong, the imprudent Zeal of those who had made the Proposal in the Chamber of the Nobility, his Majesty expresses the great *Dissatisfaction* that Dispute has brought upon him, protests that his Intention has always been to maintain all his Subjects in good Correspondence, and to keep inviolably, what the late King and himself had granted to those of the Reformed Religion, and commands that the *Edicts, Declarations, and Private Articles* should be maintained and kept religiously. I find in this Act a very just Maxim, which Lewis XIII has however sometimes forgotten, and his Son altogether slighted. *We expect from the Divine Mercy*, says he in that Declaration, *that it will reunite all our Subjects in the same Religion, by the ordinary and usual Means of the Church*: *Being fully perswaded by the Experience of times past, that violent Remedies were never effectual, but to increase the number of* *those*

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Memoires of
M. du Plessis.
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those who have forsaken the Church, instead of shewing them the way to return to it.
 It was a long time before this Declaration was registered in Parliament, and I do not know but the Motions risen in that Assembly since the breaking up of the States General, forwarded the verification thereof. The Reformed were about shortly to hold a General Assembly, and it was important that they should not be alarmed. The Parliament then imbroiled with the Court, was labouring to content them, and to gain them over to this Interest.

A General Assembly of the Reformed Churches of France appointed to meet at Grenoble. The Reformed Churches of France had obtained Permission for the calling of a general Assembly to be held at Grenoble the 15th of July in the former Year. But they were not well satisfied with that Place. They very much mistrusted the Religion and the Integrity of the Mareschal of Lesdiguières, who set up for a petty King in Dauphiny. The scandalous Life of that Lord, his hainous Crimes, his boundless Ambition, made the Reformed Apprehensive, that he would sacrifice to his Fortune the Liberties of the Assembly, and the Interests of his own Religion, in case the Mareschal had any. Besides, it was very like, that the Court had not chosen the City of Grenoble in so nice a juncture of the Commotions of the Prince of Condé, and of the Convocation of the States-General; but after having gained Lesdiguières over to their Interests, and engaged him by Promise, that all things should be there

*The Life of
M. du Plessis
Mornai
L. III.
Letters and
Memoires of
the same.*

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there transacted according to the Will of the Queen Regent. The national Synod of the reformed Churches kept at Ton-neins, sometime after the Commission was obtained, made pressing Instances to the Court, in order to have another Place than Grenoble appointed for their Assembly, They demanded still a longer time to prepare themselves for the General Assembly, and that some limitations inserted in the Commissions, might be taken off. As for a further delay it was readily granted until the 25th of August in the same Year ; but they refused to make any Alteration in the Commission, and for the Place, the Court excused her self from granting another, because such a transferring might displease the Mareschal of Lesdiguières. The present Circumstances of Affairs in Italy, said they, require that we should have a regard for a Man, with whom Charles Emmanuel keeps so good a Correspondence. This obliged the Reformed to apply themselves to the Mareschal himself, for obtaining his own Consent : But he kept Correspondence with the Court, and therefore he refused to grant it, alledging, that a mistrust was injurious to his Reputation. During the Abode of their Majesties at Tours the Year before, *du Plessis Mornai* did earnestly intreat the Queen, and even proposed to the Council, to grant the Reformed another Place instead of Grenoble, and his Reasons appeared so weighty, that *Mary de Medicis* offered him to transfer

the Assembly to *Saumur*, being fully satisfied that a wise and trusty Governor would never suffer any thing to be transacted there, against the welfare of the Kingdom, and the Service of his Majesty: But *du Plessis* thought he ought to refuse the Honour the Queen offered unto him. There have always been amongst the Reformed of *France* some Persons, whose hot Brains and imprudent Zeal, have much prejudiced the Affairs of their Religion. *Du Plessis* was afraid lest this sort of Men, who exclaimed against his Moderation, shold divulge, that he had made an Interest himself for the transferring of the Assembly to *Saumur*, to the end that it might be at his own Disposal. The Reluctancy *du Plessis* shew'd of accepting the Profer of the Queen, hindered the Court from taking any Resolution about appointing another Place. However, the Violences that *Lesdiguières* committed then at *Grenoble*, struck all good Men of the Reformed Religion with so much horror, that they would by no means suffer that the general Assembly should be exposed to the Discretion of so cruel and so debauched a Man. This Affair was carried so far, that the Reformed being highly provoked, that the Court had no regard to their just Demands, proposed already to send some Deputies out of each Province to *Montauban*, to consider of the Refusal the Queen had made of granting another Place than *Grenoble*, and appoint them-

themselves such a one, as they should think less suspected and more convenient. 1615.

The wise *du Plessis* foreseeing the ill Consequences of such a Proceeding, wrote in pressing Terms to the Ministers, for obtaining another Place than *Grenoble*, and sent also an Express with a Letter to the Mareschal *Lesdiguières*, wherein he endeavour'd to perswade him with good Reasons to raise no obstacle, to the satisfaction of the Reformed Churches : But whether the Collusion did continue still between the Court and the Mareschal, or that he fancied that those of his Religion put an Affront upon him, he regarded not the Remonstrances of *du Mornai*.
'Tis not at my Request, said he, that the King has chosen Grenoble. Nothing has been communicated to me concerning the same. I have good Reasons, tho' I cannot set them down in a Letter, to let his Majesty do what he thinks more expedient for the good of the Kingdom. The new Comotions of the Prince of *Condé* and the Parliament, did not a little contribute to render the Court more favourable to the Reformed, for they were much afraid lest they should extraordinarily assemble at *Montauban*. At last the Queen did promise to their general Deputies the 1st of April 1615. that the Reformed should have satisfaction about the Time and the Place for holding their general Assembly, and to that Effect th^e Court appointed *Gorgeau*, a little Town upon the River *Loire* near

1615. *Orleans.* The Reformed did not like a Place so near *Paris*, and represented that in a former Assembly held at *Gergeau*, the Deputies could find there no lodging. *Lesdiguières* improved this new Discontent, for having the Assembly to meet at *Grenoble*. The Marquess of *Monbrun*, who had married a natural Daughter of the Mareschal, born of a double Adultery, gave great Assurances to the Reformed, that his Father-in-law would support them with his Credit and his Authority. Whereupon by an unexpected and sudden Change they demanded *Grenoble*, and threatened to assemble there, in case *Lesdiguières* would but receive them: If not, said they, we will meet somewhere else than at *Grenoble*, or at *Gergeau*. This new Resolution alarmed the Court. But the Mareschal so positively promised to the Queen, that he would take care that the Assembly should do nothing, but to the satisfaction of her Majesty, that she granted the Reformed Leave to meet at *Grenoble* the 15th of July in the Year 1615.

Lewd and disorderly Life of the Mareschal Lesdiguières. The Reasons why the Reformed had mistrusted the Probity and Religion of this Lord, are as follow: *Charles Blanchefort Sire de Cregu*, had married the only Daughter remaining of the lawful Children of *Lesdiguières*; but the Mareschal had two other Daughters by a certain Woman named *Mary Vignon*, whom he had taken away from her Husband called *Ennemond Macel*, a Silk-Merchant at *Gren-*

Grenoble. Their Commerce was for some time kept by them somewhat private, and less scandalous ; but so soon as the Mareschal's Wife was dead, *la Vignon* came to live with him. He caused her to be called *Madam de Moyranc*, by the name of one of his Lordships : An unworthy and shameful thing to an old Man of above sixty Years of Age. *La Moyranc* not being satisfied to be served and respected, as if she had been the lawful Wife of *Lesdiguières*, she would still right or wrong marry him ; but that could not be done, whilst *Matel* her Husband was alive. A loose and ambitious Woman makes nothing of perpetrating the most hainous Crime : But 'tis to be wonder'd at, that the Mareschal bewitcht by this new Circle, should enter into that horrid Plot. Colonel *Alard*, his Confidant, and a Man who carried on the Intreagues between the Duke of Savoy and *Lesdiguières*, took upon himself to cause the poor *Matel* to be murdered, and all the World presently suspected him to be the Instrument that *la Moyranc* had employed to rid her self of a Husband, who lived too long according to his Wife's Desire. The Parliament of Grenoble caused *Alard* to be apprehended upon Suspicion. The Mareschal who had absented himself from the Town, whilst they were perpetrating the Murder, hasten'd thither again, as soon as he heard that *Alard* was secured ; but the Difficulty was how to take him out

of the publick Prisons : *Lesdiguières* went himself thither, and got *Alard* out, under Pretence that he was a Minister to the Duke of *Savoy*, who was not to be meddled with, without Leave of his Highness. The first President of *Grenoble* being highly provoked by such a Violence, that plainly proved that the Mareschal was privy to the Crime ; made a great Bustle, but all that was to no purpose : The Court who stood more in need of *Lesdiguières* than of him, induced the King to give a shameful Act, whereby his Majesty owned all the Mareschal had done, in order to take *Alard* out of the Hands of the Magistrates, who pretended to discover the Mystery of Iniquity.

Had not the Lecherous old Man been privy to the Crime of this Woman, would he have kept her still in his House after the perpetrating thereof ? But he did not stop there ; and to the end that their intended Marriage should appear less infamous, *Lesdiguières* ordered that his *Mary Vignon* should take the Title of *Marchioness de Tréfort*, and afterwards married her in the Year 1617. *Hugues* Archbishop of *Ambrun* gave his Blessing to that criminal Match ; because *la Vignon* was a Roman Catholick, and *Lesdiguières* who would still retain the Name of a Reformed submitted himself to the Ecclesiastical Censure ordained by the discipline of the Protestants of *France*, against those who marry after the way of the Church of

*Shameful
Marriage of
Lesdiguières.
History of Les-
diguières high
Constable of
France.*

*L. X Ch. 3
and 10.*

of Rome. What is reported of *Charles Emanuel* Duke of Savoy does wonderfully well discover his Temper. His Highnes being perswaded that *la Vignon* had a prevailing Interest with the Mareschal, was so base as to propose them a match betwixt the Count of Sault, Son to *Crequi*, and Grandson to *Lesdiguières*, and the Princess of Savoy, and another between the second Daughter of *la Vignon*, whom the Mareschal loved tenderly, and one of the Sons of *Charles Emanuel*. I am willing to believe, that this was but an Artifice of the Duke, who was very passionately desirous to gain over *Lesdiguières* to his Interest, but this will still convince us, that an ambitious Prince is capable of performing the greatest baseness, provided he gratifies his own Passion thereby.

The Count of *Sault* married since this second Daughter, tho' she was his Aunt. But she died a little while after without Issue. *Crequi* was then afraid lest the eldest Daughter of *la Vignon*, married to the Marquels of *Monbrun*, should take from the Count of *Sault* a considerable share in the Succession of his Grandfather; but to prevent it, *Crequi* did work so effectually, that *Monbrun's* Marriage with the only Daughter that remained to *Lesdiguières*, was dissolved. If Divorce was not so expressly forbidden in the Gospel, I would not blame *Monbrun* for separating himself from a Bastard Woman born of an Adultery, whom he had foolishly

*Incess in the
Family of Le^s
diguières.*

married ; for such a Match was unbecoming a Person of his Quality. 'Tis said that *Cregui* pressed the Count of *Sault* to marry that Woman who was his Aunt and his Sister-in-law : This Proposal struck the young Count with Horror ; but *Cregui* more covetous, and less Religious than his Son, married himself his first Wife's Sister. All these Incestuous Matches could not be performed without Dispensations from *Rome*. The Popes, who had some hopes of gaining at last a Reformed who was not much scrupulous, readily granted them ; so that they said in jest at the Court of *Rome*, that hardly a Pope could suffice to dispatch all the Dispensations that the *Cregui's* and the Children of *Lesdiguires* demanded.

*Remonstrances
of the Parliament
of Paris
to the King.*

Mary de Medicis was no less busy about laying the Storm which was rising in the Parliament of *Paris*, than about securing her self against the Intreagues that the Prince of *Condé*, and the Mareschal of *Bouillon* were carrying on in the Reformed Party. The Remonstrances that the Parliament was drawing up with great Care and Application, gave some Disturbance to the Court, which thought that they could pacify the Magistrates by granting them the continuance of the *Panlette* or Yearly Duty. The Arrest of the Council of State by which the same was ordained, was published in that very time that the Parliament of *Paris* was preparing to present their Remonstrances in

*Memoires of
the Duke of
Rohan.
Mercure
Francois.*
1615.

in great Ceremony. The Magistrates 1615. readily accepted what was granted to them ; But they did not look upon the continuance of the *Paulette* as a gratuity, because it was no less advantageous to the King than to themselves. The Parliament went on still with their Proceedings : For what the Chancellor had told them, that the Parliament had no Right to take Cognizance of State-Affairs, and that it was established only to determine the Suits at Law ; had so highly offended that numerous and bold Assembly, that they had absolutely resolved to give the publick Lye to *Silleri*, and to disprove the Facts he had falsely or maliciously set forth.

The Remonstrances having been as exactly as could be digested, and read with very great Deliberation in some Assemblies, the King's Officers were order'd to acquaint the Chancellor, that the Parliament desired to be admitted to the Audience of the King, which was appointed the 22d of May in the Afternoon. Six Presidents called *au Mortier*, twelve Councillors of the great Chamber, a Pro-fident, and three Councillors of each Chamber of the Inquests, and as many of the Chamber of Requests, the Attorney and the Advocate-General, being forty in number, went to the *Louvre*, the People following their Coaches. There was in the Court of the *Louvre*, at the Windows, and upon the Stair-Cases, as great

a Croud as ever was seen in the most extraordinary Solemnities whatsoever. The Magistrates were first conducted into the Hall where the Ambassadors use to wait till the King sent for them to give them Audience, and half an hour after, *Vitri* Captain of the King's Guards introduced them into the Council Chamber. The King and the Queen his Mother were there, accompanied by the Dukes of *Guise*, *Nevers*, *Vendome*, *Montmorency*, and *Epernon*, the Chancellor, the Mareschals *d'Ancre* and *Souvre*, and many other Lords, and the chiefest Councillors of State.

After a full Protestation of the Fidelity and good Intentions of the Parliament, *Verdun* the first President thereof presented the *Cabyer* of the Remonstrances to the King, which his Majesty delivered into the Hands of *Loménie* Secretary of State, and commanded the Parliament to withdraw. Sir, said then the first President, *we are order'd to beseech most humbly your Majesty, that our Remonstrances be presently read*. The young King well instructed of what he was to say, or to do, consented that they should be read. The *Cabyer* was delivered unto the Son of *Loménie*. He read it aloud, and all those that were there present heard him in all appearance with much Attention and Gravity; but every one took care to conceal the several Passions which those pressing Remonstrances excited in them. Since those Remonstrances are properly speaking

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ing, the last Efforts of dying Liberty in the Parliament of *Paris*, I doubt not but the Reader will be pleased to see here an Abstract thereof. They are certainly suitable to the Reputation that that Illustrious Senate has deservedly obtained, till they have made themselves contemptible under the present Reign, by prostituting themselves to the most base Adualation that can possibly be imagined. I know that their Mouth hath been stop't; and to speak now of making good Remonstrances, it would be a true way to be confined and deprived of their Offices: But however, those that fill up the first Places in the Parliament of *Paris*, are not obliged to swell up right or wrong their Discourses, Pleadings, and Speeches, with extravagant Commendations, and ridiculous Flatteries for a Prince, whom they do secretly blame for his Attempts upon the Fortunes and the Liberties of his Subjects. These Gentlemen should perceive, that honest Men do not relish better their untimely Encomiums, than those insipid Elogies formerly made in commendation of *Richelieu* and *Mazarin*, which now cannot be read without Indignation.

The Parliament did first express their Grief for the sinister Constructions put upon their Arrest of the 28th of March. Then they came to disprove what the Chancellor *de Silleri* had so boldly and highly asserted, that the Resolution of in-

*Justification
of the ancient
Rights of the
Parliament
of Paris.*

1615.

Mercure
Francois.
1615.

viting the Princes, the Dukes Peers, and the Officers of the Crown to the Assembly, was an invasion unheard of, of the Authority of the King. *What we have done on this Occasion, Sir, said the Magistrates, is neither without Example, nor without Reason.* Philip le bel made your Parliament sedentary, and Lewis Hutin did settle it at Paris; but both the Father and Son left entire and untouched the Functions and Prerogatives they had under the Kings their Predecessors. The Parliament was born, (if we may say so,) with the Government. It doth represent the Princes, and the Barons, who from all Ages were near the Kings, to assist them with their Counsels. The Right of sitting and voting that the Princes and the Peers of France have had always in that Assembly, is an evident Proof thereof. The Laws, the Ordinances, the Edicts, the Treaties of Peace, and the most important Affairs have been constantly sent to the Parliament, to the end that they might take them into their Deliberations, without any manner of Constraint, examine the Merit of every thing, and make the necessary Modifications to them. And even what our Kings grant to the States General of the Kingdom, must needs be verified in the Parliament. 'Tis there that their Royal Throne and Seat of Justice is really placed.

Under King John, the Princes, Prelates, and the most notable Persons in the Kingdom, were summoned to the Parliament of Paris

Paris to advise about the Affairs of the State,) which were then in an extraordinary Confusion. It was by the Advice of the same Assembly, that Charles V. who deserved the Surname of Wise, denounced War against the King of England, upon whom he conquered Poictou and Guienne. All the World knew likewise, that the same Parliament was Mediator of the Agreement concluded between the Houses of Orleans and Burgundy, whose fatal Quarrels had brought the Kingdom upon the very Brink of its Ruine. Lewis XI, tho' never so jealous of his Authority, was so far from finding Faule with the Grave Remonstrances made unto him by the first President Vauquerie, about an Edit which he would have verified, that he returned Thanks to the said President and the Counsellors who accompanied him, promising never to compel them to do what they should think against their Conscience. Lewis XII consulted his Parliament, before he took any Resolution to oppose the Encroachments and Attempts of Pope Julius II, and some other Princes that had joined together against France. He also called the chiefest of that Assembly at Tours, to advise with them about the Match he designed to make between his eldest Daughter and Francis Count of Angoulesme, Heir presumptive to the Crown.

This Count having succeeded to the Honour of his Father-in-Law, the Parliament sent some Memorials and Instructions to the Regent, Mother to Francis I. concerning

ing what they thought necessary for the good and preservation of the Kingdom. The Treaty of Madrid, and several other Transactions with Spain, were concerted in the Parliament of Paris. And in our Days Henry III. publickly declared, that he was most sensibly concerned that he had not followed the wholsom Councils of that Assembly, and that he had extorted from us by force, the Ratification of certain Edicts which were afterwards recalled. We might also alledge, Sir, what we have done under the Reign of the late King your Father. But it will be sufficient to beseech your Majesty to recal to mind the Decree that we issued out in the beginning of your Reign, to secure the Regency to the Queen your Mother. We dare presume to tell your Majesty, that the first Acts of the Majority of Princes ought not to be absolute Commands; and they are to blame who advise you so soon to act those things, which good Princes do but very rarely. The more great and powerful a King is, the more careful he ought to be, to make a sober Use of his Authority, if he will hold it long. This is a most certain and never failing Maxim in Politicks.

If Kings prepossessed, or ill advised, have not sometimes been pleased with the Remonstrances made unto them by the Parliament, such Examples ought not to be proposed for your Majesty's Imitation. Francis I. did express his Sorrow for not having barkened to those that were made him upon the Concordat: He forced his Parliamant to confirm.

firm and ratify it ; but afterwards he declared, that this Violence was the Action of his Life he most repented of. 'Tis well known what the evil Counsels were, that made Charles IX. to utter such bitter Expressions against his Parliament : And that King afterwards was very much concerned for it. He was so far from being perswaded that our Assembly ought only to take Cognizance of Law Businesses betwixt private Persons, that he came thither himself in Company with the Queen his Mother, the Princes and Lords of his Council, solemnly to treat and deliberate with them about the most important Affairs of the State. Foreigners do admire the wise Constitution of the Government of France. Of Pardons, Grants, and Rewards, You, Sir, are the sole Dispenser. By these you have every thing that can gain you the Love of your People. As for the keeping of the Laws, and the Administration of Justice, these things are absolutely reserved to your Parliament. Your Predecessors were desirous that we should have the Cognizance of their Prerogatives, the Judgment of their Causes, as well as those of their meanest Subjects. By this means You are freed from the Jealousies which commonly arise from Sovereign Power ; and from the Importunities of great Lords, who would extort Pardons and Favours from you, to the Prejudice of the Weak and safety of the Kingdom.

From these Instances alledged to shew, Reasons for the Decree issued on the 28th of March.

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to take care of the Affairs of State, they came to the Reasons why they had invited the Princes, the Peers, and the Officers of the Crown to the Assembly. Your Parliament, Sir, added they, see with an extream Concern and Sorrow the great Disorders that have been introduced in all the Parts of the State. Some Men have enriched themselves by the ruin of the People; and being justly afraid lest they should be called to an Account for it, they endeavour to give your Majesty fatal Impressions against us, and strive to make you have an Aversion for our Assembly, to divert you from harkening to our disinterested Councils and good Remonstrances. In so pressing an Occasion, to remedy the Calamities which the Kingdom labours under, the Parliament thought themselves in Duty obliged to inquire into the real Causes of them, together with the Great Men of the Kingdom, and to invite them to come to our Assembly, to come and be Witnesses of our Fidelity, and the Rectitude of our Intentions, and to deliberate with them about convenient Remedies whereby to redress the Abuses which are daily increasing. We never had the least Thoughts of resolving or ordaining any thing by our selves. Our Design was only to consult with the Princes, Peers, and Officers of the Crown, about what was expedient to be represented to your Majesty, and to engage them to set their Hands to endeavour unanimously with us to redress the Abuses complained of by all the several Orders. The De-

Declaration we have made, that the effect of the Decree should be submitted to the good Pleasure of your Majesty, ought to remove all the Suspicions which they were able to create in You. This must be an evident Demonstration that we had no Designs to attempt any thing upon your Authority. We do revere it as a most sacred and inviolable thing.

But what care soever the several Persons had taken who heard this Speech, to compose their Countenances, and to disguise the inward Motions of their Hearts, yet it was very easy to discover that the Prologue of this Discourse was no ways pleasing to the Queen and her Ministers. *Mary de Medecis* had very much ado to contain her self. She very well perceived, that the Design of this Preface was only to prepare the Minds of the Auditors to a better apprehending the Particulars of the evil Management of Affairs during her Regency. In vain did the Mareschal d'Ancre endeavour to disguise himself, his Chagrin and his Rage did appear, in spight of all he could do to dissemble it; for he saw too visibly that they principally pointed at him. The Chancellor did blush to see himself so openly convicted of Ignorance, or want of Integrity. The Dukes de Guise and Nevers, the Mareschal de Souvre, and all those who hated Conchini, and some other Ministers, gave them to see well enough, that they were not displeased at their being

The Particulars of the Disorders of the Government.

ing so attack'd and reflected upon. Had not the Lords been apprehensive of the too great Authority of the Cabal of the Prince de Condé, and especially the Mareschal de Bouillon, who was the Contriver of all these Intrigues, they without Scruple would have applauded the Remonstrances of the Parliament. When they came to the reading of the several Disorders and Grievances the Government lay under, which were particularized in the Memorial, it was then that the Magistrates, attentive on the Impressions which their Remonstrances made, with a malicious Pleasure observed the Despite, Joy and Rage, which these did create successively in the same Persons. Those that appeared well pleased to see Others reflected upon in one Article, did alter their Looks and Countenances when they came to read the next following, wherein they were no less visibly represented and marked out.

It must be confessed that the several Abuses brought into the Government, had been collected with great Wisdom and Judiciousness, and were represented with as much Courage and Freedom. The Magistrates of the Parliament of Paris would doubtless have deserved extraordinary Commendations, had they had less regard to Self-Interest, and had not the manner of forsaking an Attempt which they had begun with so much Courage, and maintained with Resolution,

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discovered that they were rather moved by a Spirit of Cabal and Faction, than by the Love of Justice and of their Country. Are not the Sale and Inheritance of Offices without Dispute one of the greatest Abuses of the Government of France? The States General had demanded Redress of that Grievance; and the third Order, who was so much concerned for the continuance of the *Panlette*, could not with a good Grace refuse joining themselves to the two others to sollicite the Suppression thereof. Yet notwithstanding the Parliament of Paris did lay aside all those Considerations; they were so far from insisting upon the Article of the States General, who demanded the Reformation of so crying an Abuse, that the Magistrates of the Parliament used their utmost Endeavours to divert them from it. They spread it abroad that the Article had been only proposed and received at the Instigation and by the Intrigues of the Mareschal *d'Ancre*, and the Ministers who were the Confidants of the Queen. Who would, say they, have Magistracies, Dignities, and Offices at their Disposal, to gratify with them their Relations, or their Creatures? Having pressed very hard, and at last obtained the continuance of an Abuse so many times condemned, cou'd the Parliament handsomly demand the Redress of any other Grievances of much less Importance? Is not this a plain Demonstration, that the Zeal the Magistrates pre-

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tended to shew for the good of the Kingdom, was not sincere, but was only grounded upon Self-Interest.

I. Article of the Remonstrances of the Parliament, for the maintenance of the Sovereign Authority. Whatsoever might have been the Integrity of these Gentlemen's Intentions, yet 'tis certain that their Remonstrances were grounded upon Reason and Justice. The Parliament represented therein at first, the Prejudice that some Men had given to the King's Authority, by making it problematic and doubtful. This was an evident Complaint against the Speech that the Cardinal du Perron had made to the Nobility and to the Third State, as being turning Topzy-Turvy the fundamental Law of the Kingdom. In order to stop the Course of these pernicious Maxims, and to prevent the Sovereign Authority which the King had from God alone from being subject to any other Power, under pretence of Religion, the Magistrates demanded the Execution of those Laws, as they were established from all times in France, and of the Decrees made afterwards; that those who would presume to make the Royal Dignity dependant upon a strange Dominion, should be declared Enemies to the Kingdom: In a word, that all Declarations whatsoever sent to Rome to the Prejudice of the King's Authority, should be declared and held contrary to the fundamental Laws of the Crown. These Demands had Respect to the base and flattering Letters the Ecclesiasticks had written to the Pope, to assure him of their Af-

Affection to the See of *Rome*, and of their 1615.
Zeal for the Preservation of her Rights
and Privileges.

This last Article exceedingly pleased the Protestants, as well French as strangers ; but their great Difficulty was how well to reconcile this Article with the IX. by which the Parliament demanded the *Preservation of the Catholick, Apostolick and Romish Religion in its Primitive Splendour*. They found therein a very knotty Contradiction, which perplexed them much. For how is it possible, said they, that the Catholick Apostolick and Romish Religion of the Parliament, should be different from the Catholick, Apostolick, and Romish Religion of the Clergy ? If by the Catholick, Apostolick, and Romish Religion, we must understand that which owns the Pope to be the Vicar of Jesus Christ, the visible Head of the Church, and the Center of the Ecclesiastical Communion, Doth not this shew that du Perron was in the Right, when he maintained, that we could not without making a Schism with Rome, condemn as pernicious, and contrary to the Sacred Scriptures, this Opinion, which the Vicar of Jesus Christ asserts to be true, and which be hath caused to be canonized in several Councils ? Therefore when the Parliament demands the *Preservation of the Catholick, Apostolick, and Romish Religion in its primitive Lustre and Beauty*, they demand the same Reformation which we have been professing for this long time ; that is to say, that the

the Religion be setted on the same Foot that it was at Rome and elsewhere in the Days of Constantine, and that the Authority of the Pope be reduced to the Terms that were prescribed by the first General Council. And unless the Parliament should incline almost to be of the same Sentiments with us, added the Protestants, 'tis not possible to give any reasonable Construction to these two Articles which are in their Remonstrances. But perhaps likewise they may have a Design to cause the greatest number of the Ecclesiasticks, and all others who are of the Catholick, Apostolick, and Romish Religion, as it has been established for these five or six hundred Years, to be declared Enemies of the Kingdom. These Considerations did mightily perplex the Reform'd and the rest of the Protestants.

Articles for maintaining the ancient Allies, the Reforming of the King's Council, and against the Pensionaries of Foreign Princes.

Mary de Medicis could not bear with any Patience the II Article, whereby they demanded the maintaining of the Alliances made, or renewed by the late King with foreign Princes, Potentates, and Republicks. On these Alliances, said they, depend the Security of this Kingdom, and the Repose of all Christendom. Her Majesty understood very well, that by a side Wind they aimed at the conclusion of the double Match with Spain. All the World cryed out, that the only Design of the Court of Madrid by that Treaty was insensibly to break the Confederations that Henry IV had made with the Protestant Princes and States, which the House of Austria was con-

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contriving how to suppress. But some of the Council seemed to be far more concerned than the Queen, for they were almost outrageous, when the III Article was read, whereby the King was humbly desired to retain in his Council the Princes of the Blood, and the other Princes, the Officers of the Crown, the ancient Counsellors of State, who had passed through several great Employments; and to turn out those Persons who had been brought in within these few Years, without any other Merit, but that of the Favour of those who would fain put in their own Creatures to be near the King's Person. The Mareschal d'Ancre and those of his Party turned pale, and were stunn'd at the reading of this part of the Article. Others were almost mad when they took notice that all the Persons who were there present turned their Eyes upon them at the hearing of the IV Article, by which they demanded of the King, that he would please to forbid all Persons of what quality soever to receive any Pensions, Grants, Presents from any Foreign Prince whatsoever, under Pain of being declared guilty of High Treason, and likewise to prohibit all Counsellors of State, and Officers of the Sovereign Chambers, to receive any Pension or Wages from any Prince or Lord of the Kingdom, from the Clergy or other Commonalties, under pain of being prosecuted as Persons guilty of high Treason, or at least of high Crimes and Misde-

1615. *demeanors in taking excessive Bribes, &c. according to the Ordinances.*

Articles concerning the Government and the Places in the King's Household.

Both declared and secret Enemies of Conchini could not forbear discovering how mightily they were pleased, when they saw him so plainly mark'd out in the Article, wherein they humbly besought his Majesty, that according to the ancient Laws of the Kingdom, he would be pleased never to bestow upon any Stranger whatsoever any Place of Trust, Military Dignity, or Government of Province, nor any other important Place. The Mareschal d'Ancre had perceived well enough already, that he was pointed at in a foregoing Article, wherein the Parliament represented, that the Officers of the Crown, and the Gouvernours of Provinces or Towns of the Kingdom, ought to be maintained in their Authority, without any others interfering in what concerns the Functions of their Places. This seemed expressly designed in Favour of the Duke de Longueville Gouvernour of Picardy, who was extreamly troubled with Conchini Gouvernour of Amiens, about the Rights and Privileges of their several Governments. Moreover the King was also desired to grant no more Reversions of Places, or Governments, and for the future to put a stop to the selling of Places both in his own Royal House, and that of the Children of Franco.

Articles concerning Religion and the Church.

As to the Article which demanded that the Casholick, Apostolick, and Romish Religion might be maintained, they had put this

this Limitation to it, as much as could be without derogating from the Edicts of Pacification. This Restriction concerned the Reformed, whom that Article had perhaps somewhat alarmed: And indeed the Parliament had more regard for them, than for the Clergy, against whom they made very strange Complaints. Some Ecclesiasticks were accused of introducing a new Oath of Allegiance to the Pope, of keeping Correspondence, secret Councils, Intelligences, and too frequent Conferences with the Pope's Nuncio and the Court of Rome. This Article intimated also, that the Pope's Nuncio required this New Oath of Allegiance to be taken by those who were to be provided with Consistorial Benefices, upon the Information made before him after the Lives and Manners of the Clergy. Ambitious and interess'd Ecclesiasticks are capable of doing every thing, when they take upon them to get Bulls quickly dispatched, or to buy them at a very cheap Rate. Therefore the Parliament demanded, that the Informations after Lives and Manners, might for the future be made before the Bishops of the Dioceses, as it had been formerly practised.

Then they came to the Liberties of the Gallican Church, for the preservation of which, the Magistrates pressed very much, as well as for the retrenching of Coadjutors, Reserves of Collations of Benefices, and Publick Trusts. They demanded also,

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that able and vertuous Men such as are best qualified to perform with Credit and Honour the several Functions of their Employments, might be preferred to Bishopricks and Abbeys. It was reported at that time, that the Mareschal d'Ancre kept by him, or at least protected divers Jews, Magicians, and Poisoners. The Parliament who were well enough pleased to find any Occasion to render *Conchini* still more odious, forgot not to represent that those sorts of People ought to be punished according to the Severity of the Laws, and that they should not be allowed to come near the King's Person.

The *Jesuits* were not expressly mentioned in any of these Remonstrances, but they were plainly enough designed at in them. It seemed that the Parliament insinuated, as if they should be again driven out of the Kingdom, or at least be obliged to alter what was dangerous in their Institution. This was done apparently to contradict and oppose the Designs of the Clergy and Nobility, who had desired in their *Cahier*, that those good Fathers might be sealed in the Universities. The Parliament having complained against the multitude of new Religious Orders, they were very earnest to have them reduc'd and Regulated according to the ancient Decrees, Canonical Constitutions, the Ordinances of the Kings, and the Confirmations issued upon such *Concessions* by the Parliaments. They humbly besought the King in a following

ing Article to restore the University of Paris 1615.
to the primitive Justice, to encourage by new
Gratifications the Professors of the Sciences,
so bring up the French Youth in Piety and
in the ancient Doctrine of the Nation; and
so strengthened them against the Antis of
that, who worshipped the Devil, by inspi-
ring them with some Sentiments that were
contrary to what good and honest Frenchmen
the King, their Country, and their
Parents. An abuse, added the Magistrates,
of which we have said, and do feel shall be
bad and deplorable Consequences. The Ge-
Juict were much disturbed at this Article,
and their Enemies at the same time exulted
mightly because of it. Some were
transported at it, that they fancied the
Parliament had taken up a Resolution to
reverse what had already been hastily done
against that Society, after that dateable
attempt by John Chayet.

There was nothing further remaining
for them to represent, but what concerned
the Administration of Justice, and the
Treasury: And this the Parliament made
mention of in the Sequel of the Remon-
strances. They complained that there
were some Persons in France, that had op-
posed with open Force the Execution of
the Decrees of the Parliament. And the
King was therefore desired, that for the
future he would take care to prevent the
like Violations. They made it their Re-
quest to him also, that he would be plea-
sed to put the Jurisdiction of his Com-
munity

1615. cil under a better Regulation ; for they took upon them to repeal the Decrees of the Sovereign Courts , or to command a *Supersedeas* upon a simple Petition ; nor to grant Letters of absolute Pardon for hainous and most flagitious Crimes ; to cause the Edicts and Declarations against Duels to be punctually observed , not to suffer the Decrees given in his Council to be altered according to some Peoples Pleasure , who caused those to be cast , that had really the better of it by the Law ; to take away the new Duties introduced at the Seal without any preceding Edict ratified in Parliament ; to forbid all the Counsellors of State receiving Pensions or Presents from the Farmers of the King's Revenues ; In a Word , to command the Laws made , and the Decrees given against Tipling and other lewd Houses , where Youth ruin themselves by gaming , &c . to be put into Execution . The Parliament pleased themselves in taking their Revenge on the Chancellor *de Silleri* , by reflecting upon his Covetousnes and unjust Extorsions . He was desperately enraged when he heard that the King was desired to cause strict Enquiry to be made into all that he had unreasonably exacted for passing the Seal , beyond the Fees allowed him by the Law . *Silleri* was afraid they would find Reason enough to impeach him , just as had been done before to Chancellor *Poyer* in the Reign of *Francis I* . He had very well observed that in the fore-going

going Article, they had not without some ^{6115.} such Design set forth the Example of one of his Predecessors, who was condemned for Extortion and other Misdemeanors.

Nor was *Mary de Medicis* much less offended at the Parliament's Representation of the Mismanagement of the Treasury. The Articles setting forth the great number of Officers, which were set up only to be a Burthen to the Publick, and a Charge to the King in his Revenue; the Violences done to private People, whom they forced to buy those new Offices, which they thought could not be sold fast enough; and the Money arising by the erecting of these Offices, converted to the sole Benefit and Advantage of some particular Persons; the excessive Pensions granted since the Death of *Henry IV.*; the too great number of Persons employed in the Treasury: All these Articles, I say, did nothing near so much trouble the Queen, as what she heard afterwards against her indiscreet Prodigalities, and squandering away of the Money which the late King had left in the *Bastille*. After a long detail of the bad Condition of the Treasury, tho' the Queen might have been much more frugal than her Husband, who had been at great Charge in his Buildings, and several other things, the King was humbly intreated to suffer an Inquiry to be made after those who had managed the Treasury, and to recall the vast Grants that had passed during his Minority;

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ty; to put a stop to the Luxury then in vogue, of rich Household Goods, Vessels of Gold and Silver, Jewels, Laces, and other superfluous things; in short, to put the Laws in Execution against those who transport Gold or Silver out of France.

The Magistrates rejoiced mightily in private at the Trouble and Vexation they thought they observed in the Looks of the Lords, and other Favourites of the Queen, on whom she had heaped her Bounty and Mischief. They could not endure so hear a Word of regarding what they had extorted from a timorous and imprudent Princess. However, tho' these last Articles did go more to the Heart of the Queen than of those others who were so much concerned in them, yet she conformed herself with this Consideration, that the Parliament in their Complaints of Grievances had involved too great a number of powerful and resolute People, whose particular Interests would engage them to justify what had been done during her Regency. The chief Magistrates themselves had also too discerning and experienced a Judgment ever to hope for the Reformation which they proposed. It was impracticable. Too many Persons were concerned in it, and obliged to oppose and hinder it. They must have turned all things topsy-turvy to have reached these ends. A Government that hath been a long while corrupted, is not easily reformed. Those who undertake such a Work as that, run

a mighty hazard of miscarrying, unless they design to make use of violent Remedies, which (if they are not extremely well concerted) are likely to cause greater Mischiefs than those that they pretend to cure. But to speak the truth in a word, those who made these Remonstrances, aimed rather at perplexing the Queen, or ruining some of her Ministers and Confidants, than obtaining a Reformation, which they themselves lookt upon as impossible.

Whatsoever might have been the true ^{The Parliament persists in demanding the execution of their Decree of the 28th of March.} Designs of the Magistrates who were the greatest Promoters of this Affair; yet the Parliament concluded their Remonstrances with beseeching the King, that according to the Decree made the 28th of March, he would be pleased to permit them to invite the Princes, the Peers of France, and the Officers of the Crown, to their Assembly, that so being better acquainted with the Abuses of the Government, they might give a larger Information thereof to his Majesty. May it please your Majesty, concluded the Parliament, to give us Leave, to make here by your Authority, for the discharge of our Consciences towards God, for the good of your Service, and the preservation of the State, this solemn Protestation, that we find we are in short obliged to name with all Freedom the Authors of the Abuses represented to your Majesty, and to declare them to the Publick, that so you may redress them in a more convenient time, when the Affairs shall be in a better dispo-

sition, and you will be pleased to take them into your Consideration. All your honest Subjects earnestly desire it, Sir, and particularly the Officers of your Parliament, who have no other Design than to serve your Majesty, to preserve the State, and the Grandeur of that Crown which God has been pleased to bestow upon You.

*The King's
Answer to the
Remonstrances
of the Parlia-
ment.*

*Mercure
Francois.
1615.*

The Remonstrances having been read, the Magistrates were ordered to withdraw, and wait in the next Chamber, till the King had advised about what answer to give them. I have heard your Remonstrances, and I am not pleased with them, said King Lewis, after the Magistrates were called in again. The Queen my Mother will acquaint you with my Intentions. The Parliament had taken care to speak of her with all Respect and becomingness imaginable, and had also commended her in some Parts of their Remonstrances; but yet at the bottom her Regency was wonderfully blasted. She resented it accordingly, and indeed her Majesty was so highly provoked by it, that she could not dissemble her Anger and Indignation, when she answered the Magistrates. The King, said Mary de Medicis, has just Reasons to be offended at the Attempts of his Parliament. You have taken the Affairs of State into your Consideration, notwithstanding You were forbidden so to do. Do you resolve to reform the Kingdom? Will you prescribe Us Laws for the Government and Administration of the Treasury? I perceive very well what

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what it is you aim at. You have a Design 1615. upon my Regency, which has been approved of by all the Orders of the Kingdom in the Assembly of the States-General, and was even commended by the Parliament it self. When you desire to have the pretended Abuses redressed which have been introduced since the Death of the late King, you plainly declare by that, that I have not governed as I ought. I have been sufficiently informed how all things were carried on in the Parliament. Your Remonstrances there have not met with a general Approbation. Six Presidents have opposed them; but the Faction of six or seven other Presidents or Counsellors have carried it. But we will not for the future suffer any such like Attempts. This I say positively, and I am pleased that all the World should know it, added this good Prince, (exceeding a little the bounds of Modesty and Truth) France has never had a more happy Regency than mine.

She was so far transported with Anger, that her Majesty was forced here to stop. Whereupon Silleri was ordered to go on, and answer for the King. But the Chancellor was no less moved with Passion than the Queen. However he put the best Face on the matter he could; and with a grave and austere Look told the Magistrates, that France was a Monarchy, where the King had the sole Right of Commanding. 'Tis true, added Silleri, his Majesty ought to govern according to the Laws

and Ordinances as they are established; but he is accountable for his Actions to none but to God. The Chancellor repeated what he had said a little before, that the Parliament ought to be satisfied with the Jurisdiction the Kings had allotted to them, and that it did not belong to them to meddle with State-Affairs; and much less to censure the Government. I own, perswued he, Our Kings have been used to take Advice of their Parliaments upon some important Occasions. But they are no ways obliged to it. They do it when they think fit. You have no Right of your own Heads to give Advice to the King: But ought to wait till his Majesty requires it from you. When the Edicts and Declarations that he designs to put out upon the Cabys, which the States-General have presented to him shall be sent to you, then is your time to represent to the King, what you shall think most convenient for his Service, and for the good of his Kingdom. It was never heard of, and you will not find one Instance, that the Parliament has ever called the Princes, the Dukes, Peers, and the Officers of the Crown to their Assembly, when the King himself was at Paris. Silleri answered in few Words some of the Complaints made by the Magistrates. And to be revenged for what they had said against him, he reproached the Parliament for their not observing some of the King's Ordinances. But, said this flattering Minister, those would be mighty to blame, who should complain of the Admi-

ministration of the Queen during the King's Minority. It has been the admirablest Regency that was ever yet seen, and you cannot find any in History that can be parallel'd with it. Under the good Conduct of her Majesty, the Subjects have enjoyed all the Happiness they could reasonably wish for. The Queen is answerable for what she has done to none but God. If she be pleased to give any account of it to the King, he will be obliged to her for her Administration. It doth not belong to us to dictate to her Majesty whom she ought to call to her Council. 'Tis for the King to choose them: And he has taken those who to the best Advantage served the late Kings, and his Majesty is well satisfied with them. You shall be acquainted with the King's Answer to your Remonstrances, as soon as they shall have been communicated to his Council.

The Magistrates were already bowing to the King with a Design to withdraw, when the President Jeannin Comptroller-General of the Finances began to speak. Mercure
Francois.
1615.
 'Tis untrue, said he, and not at the Queen that the Parliament levels their Complaint. I have had the Management of the Finances for these some Years, and I am ready to answer for the same before the most rigorous Judges. Had I an ignorant and credulous Mob declaimed against me without knowing any Reason why, I should not have wonder'd at it: But I think it very strange that an Assembly of wise and discerning Gentlemen such as you all are, should go about to

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condemn my Proceedings before ever you had examined them, and whether the Reports spread abroad against me were false or true. Jeannin labour'd hard to confute some part of that Article wherein the Parliament represented the ill Management and squandering away of the Treasury. When he had done speaking, the Dukes *de Guise*, *Montmorency*, and *Vendôme* rose up and offered to stand by the King with their Lives and Fortunes against all those who should dare to disobey him; and assured him, that they would not go to the Parliament, unless his Majesty would send them thither to maintain the Royal Authority. *The Parliament*, said then the Duke *d'Epernon* with his wonted Fire and Haughtiness, have no Power to call the Peers, nor to assemble them without the King's Permission. I have the Honour of sitting in it: God forbid I should ever inform them of State-Affairs.

Such has been this long time the blindness of the French Lords and Gentlemen, that dazzled with the least Rewards the Court shews them, they themselves have laboured the establishing of an Arbitrary Power to ruin and oppres them for ever. *Guise*, *Vendôme*, *Montmorency*, and *Epernon*, were well enough punished under the imperious Reign of Cardinal *de Richelieu*, for their base Complaisance. One of them fell by the Hand of the Executioner, and the others were either sent to Prison or banished. It is to put Arms into the Hands

of

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of a Prince against themselves and their Families, to be instrumental in making him absolute Master of all. *Mary de Medicis* saw her self at last reduced to such an Extremity, that she was obliged to implore, (and yet implore) in vain the Succours and Authority of that Parliament which she had herself oppressed. But she betook herself to them when it was too late. The Parliament might have been of some Use to this unfortunate Princes, and to the Dukes *de Guise*, *Vendôme*, and *Epernon*, against the violence of a revengeful Minister, had they had Wit enough in time to foresee, that they might one day fall into such a necessity, as to find it might be advantageous for them to have the Parliament have a Right to be concerned in Affairs of State.

Verdun first President endeavoured to reply to the Duke *d' Epernon*, and the other Lords, who basely against their own Interests and Consciences condemned the Proceedings of the Parliament. And they came to high Words on both sides, but the Queen interposed her Authority to prevent things from being carried on too far. The Mareschal *d' Ancre* at the same time delivered into her Hands a Pamphlet, intituled, *la Cassandre Francoise*, and several Passages in it *Conchini* had marked for her Majesty to take notice of. See here, said *Mary de Medicis*, how the publishing of *Lampoons and Libels* against the King and me are permitted. She gave the Pamphlet to *Puisieux* Secretary of

of State, who read some Pages of it. The first President answered, that he had made a strict Inquiry after the Printer, but they could not find him out. You should enquire after the Authors of such Scandal, replied the Duke d'Epernon. Printers are poor sorry Fellows, who have no other Design, but to get a Penny for a pitiful Livelhood. Did he mean thereby that the Writers of those Libels were not unknown to the Parliament? However, it had been better for Mary de Medicis not to have taken any notice of these Pamphlets. They fall and are forgot of themselves, when once they are slighted. But to be in good Earnest vexed at them, that shews, there are some Truths in them that reach to the Quick. The Duke de Nevers was more reasonable than the other Lords of the Council. I have given no Commission to the Parliament to speak for me, said he, I know what I owe to the King. There are some good things in the Remonstrances. If there be any that are ill, his Majesty may reject them. There was not much notice taken, of what the Duke said: His Intrigues with the Prince of Condé were too well known.

A Decree of
the Council of
State for re-
pealing that
of the Par-
liament.

Mercure
Français.
1615.

The 23d day of May in the morning, the King gave in his Council a Decree for repealing that of the Parliament. There the young King Lewis was made to say, that the Parliament had transgressed the Power prescribed them by the Laws of their Institution, and that it was no more than a Court erected to administer Justice to the Sub-

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Subjects : That Francis I. had repealed, and caused a Decree to be razed out of the Records, whereby the Parliament pretended to restrain the Power of the Regent, Mother to the King; that the Parliament having attempted to do something of less moment about the beginning of the Majority of Charles IX. that King had repealed their Decree, and ordered it to be blotted out, and torn to pieces, so that the Remembrance of it might be buried in oblivion : That the Parliament had publickly acknowledged themselves in the Reign of Charles VIII. that they had no power to take any Cognizance of State-Affairs. Lewis then Duke of Orleans, says the Decree, and since King of France, dissatisfied with the Administration of Madam de Beaujeu, Sister to Charles VIII. pressed the Parliament to join with the Princes and Lords, who were labouring to find out some Remedy whereby to cure the pretended Disorders of the Government. But de la Vacquerie first President answered the Duke of Orleans, that the Parliament was only instituted to administer Justice to the King's Subjects, and that they had no power to meddle with any State-matters. Thus Silleri made an ill Use of the name and Authority of a young King, and of an high spirited and imprudent Prince to support what their Chancellor had wrongfully set forth and had been clearly and fully confuted by her Parliament.

It was also enacted by this Ordinance, that the Remonstrances of the Parliament had

had been drawn up at the Instigation of some ill affected Persons, and that the wisest and most considerate and most judicious Magistrates had disapproved of several of the Articles, when they were read in the Assembly of the Chambers. After this long Preface by way of Harangue, the King repealed the Ordinance of the Parliament made the 28th of March, *injoining this Assembly not to meddle any more for the future with State-Affairs, unless when they should receive Orders from him to do so:* And to the end that the Remembrance of such a disobedience should be quite lost, his Majesty commanded that the Ordinance and the Remonstrances should be razed and torn out of the Records. And to prevent the Discontents that so high and publick a Refusal of harkening to the good Remonstrances, might cause amongst the People, they made King Lewis to promise, that he would take into consideration the *Cabiers* which the three Orders of the Kingdom had presented unto him in the Assembly of the States-General, that he would send the Edicts which were drawing up, to be confirmed in the Parliament, and that then his Majesty would graciously hearken to the Remonstrances the Magistrates should think they were bound in their Consciences to make to him.

The Attorney and the Advocates General were in a very untoward Condition betwixt the King, whose Interests they were

*Difficulties about the regis-
tring of the
Decree of the
Council of
State.*

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were obliged to maintain, and the Parliament, of which they themselves were Members. However, 'tis reported, that they behaved themselves with great Prudence and Circumspection upon so nice and delicate a Conjunction. The King commanded them to attend at the Louvre the 27th of May, to be present at the reading of the Decree of the Council of State, repealing the Ordinance of the Parliament. They received Orders likewise to be there again the next Day, and then they were commanded to present the Decree of the Council of State to the Parliament, and to cause the same to be read in that Assembly. His Majesty sent for them again the third time, the day after, viz. the 29th, and asked them what Care they had taken to execute the Orders which had been given them. The King's Council did most humbly beseech their Majesties to excuse their carrying to the Parliament, a thing which might be sent them by some other Person. They represented as if it would seem as if the Court had a mind to have them ill-look'd upon by their own Assembly; and that it would be a means to render them incapable of serving his Majesty to any purpose in the Parliament. Servin made use of all the Flowers of his Rhetoric upon this occasion, but it was in vain. The King will have it so, answered Mary de Medicis with great Warmth: He is resolv'd to maintain his Authority. His Commands and

Mercure
Francois.

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and mine ought to be obeyed without any Excuse or delay. Then Molé Attorney-General fell down at the King's Feet to desire him to consider what Station they held in the Parliament : But King Lewis continued still inflexible. I will have it so and the Queen too, replied the young King, being thoroughly instructed to speak like an absolute Sovereign.

The King's Council went the first of June to the great Chamber, with a Commission to the Parliament, and the Decree of the Council of State was laid upon the Table. Servin, the Advocate-General, after he had represented to the Assembly, that his Colleague and himself had done whatever they could to be excused from bringing an Order they knew would be so displeasing to the Parliament, he told them, that they were all of Opinion that their Majesties might be pacified, if the Chamber would please to depose some of her Members, to make their Submissions to the King, and to protest both to him and to the Queen his Mother, that the Parliament had never found Fault with the Proceedings of the King, or the Administration of the Queen during her Regency. It seemed very surprizing to them, that so wise a Magistrate as Servin, should make so ridiculous a Proposz! Those that had but a very small share of Penetration could easily see, that the Parliament had resolved in their Remonstrances to run down the Proceedings

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BOOK VII. LEWIS XIII.

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ceedings of *Mary de Medeis*, as to her Government of the Kingdom since the decease of *Henry IV.* with what a Face therefore could those grave Senators make a *Protestation* so apparently false? It was however resolved in the Assembly of the Chambers, that the first President and some others, attended by a certain number of Counsellors, should wait on the King, and tell him what *Servin* had proposed to them. According to these *Recolutions*, the King's Council went to the Chancellor to know when his Majesty would please to be waited on by the Parliament.

Mary de Medeis being informed of all these Proceedings, immediately sent for the King's Council to attend her at the Louvre. His Majesty, said she to them, will not hearken to any thing except his Orders be first obeyed, and that the Decree given in his Council be read and registered. *Servin* in vain represented to *Mary de Medeis*, that the Parliament was far from finding Fault with her Administration during the King's Minority, that they highly extoll'd her Majesty for her Prudence, as well as the Care she had taken about the Welfare and Tranquility of the Kingdom: The Queen was too old to be caught by those fine Words, and would believe nothing of them. She knew well enough what the true meaning of Remonstrances was. *The King wills and commands you*, replied she with an imperious

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ous and severe Air, to see that his Orders be punctually obeyed, and that the Decree of his Council be read and recorded under pain of disobedience. After this express Command therefore Verdun assembled the Chambers, and the Decree of the Council was read. But when they came to deliberate upon what was to be done in that case, the Assembly was extremely divided, and so many different Proposals were made, that for several Days together they could come to no Resolution. Then, says a great Man of that time very wisely, these Remonstrances met with the desired Effect, the Parliament was checkt: And that obliged the Members thereof to keep more close to the Prince's Party.

*Memoirs of
the Duke of
Rohan. L 1.*

*The Prince of
Condé and
the Lords of
his Party
desirous to put
a stop to the
King's Progress
into Guienne,
in order to his
Marriage.*

*Memoirs of the
Regency of
Mary de Me-
dicis.*

During this Contest with the Magistrates, there had been often mention made in the King's Council of a Progress his Majesty had resolved shortly to take into Guienne, at the Instance of the Queen, to meet the Infanta, who was to be brought to the Frontiers of the Kingdom, and to receive there the Lady Elizabeth of France, affianced to the Prince of Spain. Condé and the Lords of his Party did whatever they could to put a stop to that Progress. They alledged several Reasons why they ought not to be so over-hasty to marry a young and weakly Prince; and particularly they insisted upon the posture of his Affairs in Italy. The Duke of Savoy, said some, is just upon the brink of being ruined by the King of Spain. The Negoc-

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tiations of the Marquis de Rambouillet are to no purpose. All Things are more imbroiled now than ever. 'Tis highly necessary for the King therefore not to suffer the Spaniards to deprive a Prince of his Country, who is nearly related to this Crown, nor his Catholick Majesty to go on still and enlarge his Dominions by taking of Piemont. If the Court of Madrid designed to deal ingenuously in the Business of the double Match, ought not she at least to give peace to Italy, in compliment to the Instances the King has made to obtain it? This was said before ever the Chevalier de Sillery returned from Spain. When Mary de Medicis saw that he brought from thence such reasonable Conditions as the Duke of Savoy could not with Honour refuse, she thought the Prince of Condé and those of his Party could have nothing more to say against the King's Progress into Guienne, nor against the Conclusion of the double Match.

But the good Queen was out in her Account. They gave out still that the Peace of Italy was not much to be relied upon, and that there was very little Probability that the Spaniards would make a dishonourable Treaty to a haughty and imperious Crown. At least, said they, Prudence requires not to make so much haste, till the real Designs of the Court of Madrid in Italy should be better known. Charles Emmanuel kept a Correspondence with the Prince de Condé. The extream Passion he had to be revenged of Mary de Medicis, and

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Roncouver
Historia del
Regno di Lu-
igi XIII. L. IV.

*The Prince de
Conde and
the Lords of
his party
withdraw
from Court.*

*Memoirs of
the Regency of
Mary de Me-
dicis.*

*Mercure
Francois.*

1615.

The History of Book VII.

and to embroil her Affairs, and to thwart Her in her Design of marrying into Spain her eldest Daughter, whom the late King had contracted to the Prince of Piemont; to obtain these ends, I say, the Duke of Savoy presented the Prince of Condé with forty thousand Crowns, tho' he was at the same time in very great want of it himself, to defray his Charges of the War against the Gouvernor of Milan.

Mary de Medicis did not at all mind the Remonstrances made by the Prince de Conde and those of his Party. But she professed the King more than ever to his Progress, and the Preparations for his Journey into Guienne were made with all possible Diligence. Condé and the Lords joined with him, resolved then to withdraw from Court, being sufficiently satisfied they had gained the Parliament over to their side, or at least, that they had engaged them to go on with their Remonstrances, which would be a great Furtherance to them in the matter of their Complaints and Discontent. Condé retired first into his House of S. Maur near Paris. He there caused it to be given out, that Bonillon and Dole, two Counsellors of State, had proposed to their Majesties, to send some Lords of his Party to the Bastille, and to hang up in the Place of Grace all those that had given any advise contrary to the King's will. Those vile Creatures of the Marechal d' Ancre were wicked enough to be guilty of such an Action. Happ-

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Happy are that People who have power to inflict Punishments upon those that are capable of giving such destructive Advices to their Prince, and assisting him in all his Attempts upon the Liberties of his Subjects! I do not wonder that there are in France so many Ministers and Counsellors of State who betray the Interests of their Country; for they may do what they will with impunity if it be for the Ruin of the Publick Weal: Nay, 'tis by this means that Men there hold up such vast Riches, and are preferred to the first Places of the Kingdom. Condé went from S. Maur into his County of Clermont en Beauvoisis, an ancient Patrimony belonging to the House of Bourbon. The Military Exercises which he caused to be performed at Creil upon the River Ouse with an affected Pomp, by the Inhabitants of the adjacent Towns under his Dependency, gave great Disturbance and Jealousy to the Court. They doubted then no longer, but that his Highness had seriously resolved upon taking up Arms. The Mareschal de Bonillon was gone to his Principality of Sedan, where he took the Measures that were necessary for carrying on the Designs of that Party. The Duke de Mayenne retired no further than Soissons. As for the Duke de Longueville, he was set out some time before for his Government of Picardy.

After this Retreat of theirs, several Parti-
shers flew abroad, written as was said,

Mercere
FRANCIA.
1615

by

1615. by the dissaffected Lords. A Letter from the Mareschal de Bouillon to President Jeannin was made publick. This was like the first *Manifesto* against the Disorders of the Government. This Letter did not continue long without a Reply. Jeannin did not set his Name to the Answer : It went only under the Name of an ancient Councillor of State. What the Mareschal had set forth in his Letter was there confuted with a great deal of Wit and good Manners. All these Motions, said they however plainly enough, proceed only from the Discontent of some Lords, because they have not Preferments equal to the Greatness of their Minds, and that they are not more concerned in the Administration of Affairs. The Interests of State, which are so carefully alledged, are but incidental Reasons, and plausible Pretences to cover and bide their true Motives. Silleri was personally attacked in a Pamphlet, intituled, *the French Nobility to the Chancellor*. The Author thereof was very bitter against the Government. The dissaffected Party openly protested against all that had been done, and all that should be done for the future. The Court caused an Answer to be published to this second Pamphlet, but they did not speak so imperatively in this, but endeavoured only to justify the Government with a becoming Moderation.

The Court agrees with the Parliaments.

Mary de Medicis perceived by this time, that her high Carriage towards the Parliament had brought her into the Stars.

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her Enemies had laid for her. Her Ma-
jesty therefore was afraid, left the Name
and the Authority of an Assembly, which
the People look'd upon as the strongest
Bulwark of their Liberties, would engage
them to declare themselves for the Prince
of Condé, if it appeared that his Highness
acted in concert with the Parliament.
Therefore the Court did labour to find
out some Expedients to content them, and
to preserve at the same time the King's
Authority, which had been too much ex-
posed in this Affair. Before ever a So-
vereign undertakes any thing of great
Weight and Moment, he ought to consider
more than once, whether he be able to
keep his Ground as he ought to do, with
Honour and Glory. The difference with the
Parliament was adjusted, when they pub-
lished the Answer to Mareschal de Bouil-
lon's Letter to President Jeannin. Their
Majesties, said they in the Letter with a
great deal of Confidence, believe, that the
Magistrates of the Parliament are too wise
to defer any longer their reconciling them-
selves with their King, who desires to own
them as his faithful Subjects and his good Ser-
vants. Those who flatter themselves that they
shall make use of the Dispute and Succour
of the Parliament, as a specious Pretence to
justify the Troubles that they would fain stir
up in the Kingdom, are willing with their
eyes open to deceive themselves. The King
will be always equally supported both by his
Magistrates, and his Military Officers, when-

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ever there shall be occasion to repulse the Efforts of Rebels, and to preserve the Authority which God has put into his Hands.

He that spoke after this manner, was well informed of the Success the Intrigues of the Court had met with in the Parliament. Those who are perfectly acquainted how this numerous Senate is composed, will quickly perceive that it is no hard matter for the Court to gain them over to their Interests. Five or six Men of Brains and Parts lead as they please, a multitude of Magistrates, Persons for the most part of mean Births, without either Courage or Experience, more in love with their Pleasures or Fortunes, than sollicitous about the publick Good. And those who have the greatest Interest in the Parliament, have also the most hopes from the Court, either to be preferred higher, or at least, to keep in their Families the Dignities they have bought, perhaps at the Price of all they are worth: So that they ought to have as much Integrity as the *Aristides*, the *Fabricians* and the *Cato's* had, to be able to withstand the Temptations and Corruptions of the Court.

When all things were well agreed on between the Confidants of the Queen and the chief Magistrates. *Verdun* the first President assembled the Chambers the 22d of June: And then *Servin* declared to them, that the King having several times commanded his Attorney and Advocates-

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cates-General to attend at the *Louvre*, since the Assembly had began to take into Consideration the Decree of the Council of State, and the Commission sent to Parliament concerning the Remonstrances made to his Majesty ; the Queen told them it was then expected that the Assembly should perform the Resolutions they had agreed on, *viz.* to make their Submissions to the King, and to express the Respect they had always preserved for the Queen. *So soon as the Parliament shall have done*, added the Advocate-General, *You shall find the King will give a satisfactory Answer to this Assembly.* Then Servin acquainted them with the Protestations the King's Council at law had made on the part of the Parliament ; whereupon the Chambers fell into debate what was to be done next.

The Day following they resolved that the first President attended by some others, and a certain number of select Counsellors should go to the *Louvre*, to signify to their Majesties, how extreamly the Assembly was affected with their dissatisfaction, and to protest to them that they never had any Design of concerning themselves with their Actions, and much less with their Persons ; that they applauded the Queen for her wise Conduct, and the Care she had taken of the Peace of the Nation, and the Preservation of the King's Royal Person : That the Parliament had very sincere Intentions in all their Remon-

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strances, and they had been drawn up by the unanimous consent of the Magistrates, and were afterwards agreed upon by the Consent of the whole Assembly. I know very well that crowned Heads ought to be respectfully treated, and that the Parliament could not long dispence with their giving some satisfaction to a provoked Queen. But indeed it must likewise be granted, that grave Senators should not act so openly against the sincerity which so well becomes their Character. *Mary de Medicis* contented her self with the *Protestations*, because she could no otherwise help it; but Men of Honour heard them with Indignation. The latter end of the Decree which was drawn in pursuance of the Resolutions of the Parliament, seemed more suitable to the Authority and Distinction the Parliament was labouring to maintain in the State. Their Majesties were therein humbly desired to remember, that at the first sitting of the King in Parliament, the Queen had publicly declared, that the Intention of his Majesty was to follow the good Councils of the Parliament, and she had earnestly conjured the Magistrates by all that they owed to their Sovereign, their Countrey, and the Memory of the late King, to give her Son such Advice as they should think most advantageous for the Service of the King, and welfare of the Kingdom. They concluded their Remonstrances, by beseeching her Majesty to take into her Prince-

Princely Consideration the Prejudice that this Decree which had been made in the Council of State, might give to her Authority, and to be persuaded that the Remonstrances of the Parliament were true and just. Thus you see what all this great Noise and Bustle of the Magistrates came to. *Mary de Medicis* did not trouble her Head any further with the Remonstrances of the Parliament, nor the Decree that was issued out for the calling of the Princes, the Dukes Peers, and Officers of the Crown. The Parliament declined all further Proceedings, and the Decree of the Council of State which repealed all, was not executed with any Severity.

The Court was not so wholly taken up with quieting the Parliament, but they were at the same time contriving how to gain over the Prince of Condé. King Lew.
The King endeavours to engage the Prince of Condé to wait on his Majesty in his Progress to Guienne.
 is thro' the Instigation of the Queen his Mother, had several times intimated to him, that he would be glad to have the first Prince of the Blood present at his Marriage. Decency requires, said he, that a Person of your Rank should receive the Infanta upon the Frontiers of France, and that you should also conduct my Sister abither, who
Memories of the Regency of Mary de Medicis.
 is designed for the Prince of Spain. But the general Answers Condé made, gave a sufficient Intimation, that if he could not any longer be able to put off this double Marriage, he would at least certainly deny his Attendance on the King in his Pro-

gress to *Guienne*. This was a great Mortification to *Mary de Medicis*. She very well knew, that it would be of the greatest Importance to her Affairs, to have the Provinces on this side of the River *Loire* remain in Peace and Quiet during the absence of the King, and that if they should leave the Prince of *Condé* and the Lords of his Party behind them, they might be the occasion of creating some Troubles there, and perhaps of making an Insurrection in the City of *Paris*, where there was a great number of discontented People. The Queen took all the Care imaginable to engage the Prince of *Condé* to accompany the Court in their Progress to *Guienne*, being fully perswaded that the Dukes *de Mayenne* and *Longueville* (the former commanding in the Isle of *France*, and the other in *Picardy*) would wait on the King, if *Condé* could but be brought over to set the Example. As for the Mareschal *de Bouillon*, *Mary de Medicis* seemed not to be much concerned about him. What could he himself do alone? being mad to see himself disappointed in all his Designs, there would be a necessity for him to retire to *Sedan*, to divert there his Shagrin and Melancholy. The Countess *de Soissons* and the Duke *de Nevers* were employed to prevail with the Prince of *Condé* before his Departure from *S. Maur*. Although *Gonzague* were in the Interest of his Highness, yet he pretended in these new Broils to stand neu-

neuter, and endeavoured all he could by that means to be made a Mediator betwixt the Queen and the disaffected Party. But neither could the Countess nor the Duke ever get one positive Word from the Prince ; and the Mareschal *de Bouillon* had too strongly concerted all things with the Party. The more the Queen intimated that she would not employ him, the more he laboured to make himself necessary, by causing her to be afraid of him. This cunning Politician had insinuated himself so far into the mind of the Prince of *Condé*, and the rest of his Party, that they blindly followed his Counsels.

Villeroy Secretary of State, was order'd to go and negotiate with the Prince at Creil upon Oyse. He invited his Highness to return to the King, who profered him the Administration of the Government, in such manner that all the World should be satisfied with it. *I have continued eight whole Months at Paris, answered Condé ; I have seen the beginning, the progress, and the breaking up of the States General.* Do you think Sir, I have not narrowly observed all that has been done to hinder an Assembly (the calling of which I had desired my self) from getting a Reformation of the Government, which all honest French-Men so earnestly and passionately wish for ? They made use of all the Artifices imaginable to corrupt the Deputies, and to elude the good Resolutions which the three Orders of the Kingdom had design'd to have taken. After

*Negotiation of
Villeroy with
the Prince of
Condé.*

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for the unhappy breaking up of the States, the Parliament thought themselves bound in Duty to their Country to make some just and wholesome Remonstrances. What Regard was there had to them? The Magistrates have been reprimanded; the Queen has treated them very unworthily: I plainly spoke my Mind in the King's Council: Some Lords followed my Example. What Thanks have been returned to us for our Pains? We have been in danger of losing our Liberties, and even our Lives. I declare to you, Sir, I cannot return to Court, till his Majesty has first taken care to reform his Council, and redress the Abuses of the State. By the Reformation of the Council, the Prince meant the removal of Chancellor de Sibari and the Counsellors of State Bullion and Dole. But for all this we must not imagine that his Highness was wholly taken up about the publick Good; that was his least concern; and yet notwithstanding he failed not making some Demands about his own private Matters and Interests, nor forgetting neither those of his Friends. It was very visible to all the World, that if the Court would be pleased to give the Prince Satisfaction in this Article, he would not insist too much upon that which concerned the Reformation of the Government. This Consideration was very prejudicial to Conde's Party. Those who had most penetration and Integrity, saw plainly enough, that the People would be extremely to blame if they should

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should engage in a War, which the Prince and disaffected Lords had a mind to imbroglio them in, only to make their own private Advantage by it.

Villeroy returned to Court to acquaint them with the Proposals which Condé had made him. He was sent back again to his Highness, who was then at Clermont in Beauvoisis, with more ample powers of proposing him several Conditions about the Reformation of the Council and the Remonstrances of the Parliament. *Bullion* and *Dôle* were readily sacrific'd to the disaffected Party. They offered to remove them by honouring them with the Character of Ambassadors to some foreign Courts. Villeroy most passionately desired to conclude this Treaty, provided that he could get the Seals taken from Sillery his Enemy: And the covetous Chancellor was almost frightened to death, lest he should be made a Victim to the reconciling of the Queen with the Prince. Villeroy managed his Negotiations with that Skill and Address, that Condé had no other Answer to return him, but that he could not conclude any thing, before he had advised with the Lords of his Party.

A little after Villeroy was returned the second time to Paris, the Prince left the Town of Clermont, and he gave two Reasons for his so doing; the one was, that his Person was too much exposed in such a little unfortified Town as that was; and the other, that he designed to consult

*A Conference
of the Prince
of Condé and
the Lords of
his Party,
with Villeroy
and Jeannin
at Couci.*

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*Memoires of
the Regency
of Mary de
Medicis.*

*Mercure
Francois.
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with his Friends in a more convenient and secure place. In truth it had been observed that a considerable number of the King's Gendarmes or light Horse rode up and down round about Clermont. And certainly if the Queen could have caused Condé's Person to be apprehended, together with one or two other Lords of his Party, it would have proved of a much greater Consequence than the carrying away of President le Jai, of which Atchievement I will give you an Account in the Series of this History. Several Places were proposed to hold the Conference in. Cen-
ci seemed to be the most convenient. It was a little Place in the midst of several other Towns, where the Princes Friends commanded. The Dukes de Longueville and Mayenne, the Mareschal de Bouillon and the Count de S. Pol coming hither to his Highness, about the latter end of July; Villeroi and Jeannin met them there, being sent by the King, to see if they could come to any Accommodation. The Mareschal d'Ancre, the Chancellor de Silleri and some other Persons of that Cabal, who were afraid that Mary de Medicis would be obliged to deliver them up to content (at least in some Measure) the Prince de Condé, and the Lords that joineded with him, endeavoured to break off this Conference, the Success whereof gave Conchini and his Creatures a very terrible Apprehension.

They

They represented then to the Queen, 1615.
that *Villeroi* and *Jeannin* had never been Pontchartrain ^{Secreta-}
sincere about the Conclusion of the double ^{77 of State} Match, and it was much to be doubted, ^{carries to the}
whether these cunning Ministers would ^{Prince of Con-}
not maliciously draw her Majesty into ^{dé a Letter}
some Promise, that she should find it very ^{which causes}
difficult to disengage her self from, and ^{the breaking}
which then might serve to justify any At- ^{up of the Conf-}
tempts of the Malecontents. *Mary de*
Medicis in prudence at least ought to ex-
pect that *Villeroi* and *Jeannin* should give
her an Account in what Disposition they
found the Prince and the Lords of his
Party. Was it likely that the King's En-
voys would hazard the losing their Em-
ployments and their Interest, by promi-
sing any thing that was very material,
without first of all acquainting the Court
with it, from whence they might re-
ceive an Answer in a Day? But the un-
wary and timorous Princess did blindly
believe all that her *Galigai* and *Conchini*
told her upon this Occasion. Every thing
seemed well disposed for an Accommo-
dation, when Pontchartrain Secretary of
State, arrived there the very second Day
of the Conference, and delivered to the
Prince of Condé a Letter from the King,
dated the 26 of July, wherein his Maje-
sty plainly declared, that being resolved
on his Progress for *Guienne* the first of Au-
gust, he had sent a Secretary of State to
them, to have their positive Answer, whe-
ther Condé would accompany him or not.

This

1615. This News did not less surprize Villeroi
Minister of the Duke of Rohan.
Admiral of the Navy of the Marechal de Bonnac's Advantage.
Mary de Medicis. and Jeannin, than the Prince and the
 other Lords assembled at Conci, and such unex-
 pected Message did wonderfully turn to
 the other side of the Court. He represented to his Highness and the
 other Lords, that the Court was continu-
 ally contriving some way or other to de-
 ceive or disunite them, and therefore that
 it was necessary without losing any fur-
 ther time, to raise some Troops both in
 France and Germany. They all consented
 to it, and appointed Sedan for the Place
 of their Rendezvous. Villeroi and Jeannin
 reflected highly that the Queen should
 without any Reason in the World shew
 her Jealousy of them. Jeannin return-
 ing back by Noyon, the Inhabitants of the
 Town asked him, how they should be-
 have themselves for the future with the
 Duke de Mayenne. According to your usu-
 al manner, answered he, (as an old Friend
 to the Father of Mayenne.) the Duke is
 still your Governor, and a good Servant to
 the King.

The Prince of Condé's Ans. to the King's Letter. Conci did immediately subjoin his Hand
 in conjunction with the Lords, and sent
 an Answer to the King's Letter with great
 Respect. The Prince complained there-
 in, that he thought they too much pre-
 cipitated the King's Progress to Gaillon,
 before they had settled the Affairs of the
 State, and redressed the Abuses of the Go-
 vernment, according to the Remonstran-
 ces made by the States-General and the
 Par-

Parliament. Then his Highness represented, that this proceeded from the <sup>Mercure
Francois.</sup> evil Council of some disaffected Men; and that he had too long postponed his rising openly against them, lest he should offend the Queen who protected them; and concluded that the same Persons, continually abusing the Name and the Authority of the King, *to the Subversion of the State, and weakening of France, which they separated from her best Allies, to the Ruin of the Princes of the Blood, the Officers of the Crown, and the chiefest Lords of the Kingdom;* he thought himself obliged to declare plainly to his Majesty, that the Contrivers of those Disorders represented by the Parliament, were the Marechal d' Ancre, the Chancellor de Sillery, the Chevalier his Brother, Bussion and Dole, Counsellors of State. The Prince therefore humbly entreated the King to command that an Enquiry be made against them, that so the Council might be setled on a better Foundation, and that the Remonstrances of the Parliament might be seriously taken into Consideration.

The Marechal of Bouillon, who always <sup>Memories
of the Agency
of Mary de
Medicis.</sup> had, and resolv'd still to keep some Measures with the Marechal d' Ancre, did some days after tell the Marquess de Conver, that he had done whatever he was able to hinder Condé's Name from being put into the Prince's Letter, and the Manifesto which followed it; but that

the

the Duke de Longueville would not sign it unless the Mareschal should be given up, to the Resentment that Longueville had against him. I do not design to make my Court to the Mareschal d' Ancre, added the dissembling Bouillon; but 'tis only to inform you how Matters have pass'd. I am concerned that he neither knows his own Interest, nor his real Friends. The Mareschal too blindly follows the Passion of some Men, who at the same time do not love him, and are only contriving how to undo him, to raise their own Fortunes upon the ruine of his. He will know it afterwards. Bouillon aimed at the two Silleris. Coeuvres immediately discover'd the Artifice of the old Courtier. He was resolved not wholly to lose Conchini's Friendship, and had a mind to keep fair by one means or other with the Court; he being fully perswaded that both sides would shortly come to an Accommodation, and then every one would do what he could to secure his own private Interest.

The King's Declaration against the Prince of Condé and the Lords of his Party.

Mary de Medicis being resolved at last to conclude this Affair of the double Match, made use of all her Subtilty, the better to enable her self to blast the Designs of the Prince de Condé and the Lords of his Party, and safely to conduct the King to Bourdeaux. The Mareschal d' Ancre and his Creatures very strongly represented to her Majesty, that she might get this new Faction as easily dispersed, as she had done the old one the year before; and that

that the King neither wanted Soldiers nor good Officers both to make head against the Troops that the disaffected Party might be able to raise, and to convoy their Majesties to *Guienne*. The Dukes *de Guise* and *Epernon* offered their Services to the Queen. But she durst not absolutely trust the former. The Duke *de Mayenne* his near Relation, was engaged to the Prince of *Condé*: And *Guise* himself a secret Enemy to *Conchini*, and dissatisfied with the Inconstancy of *Mary de Medicis*, seemed inclinable enough, or at least no ways averse to assist the disaffected Party in procuring the ruine of the Mareschal *d'Ancre*. They depended more upon *Epernon*. But how they could give him the Command in the King's Army, without discontenting the Duke *de Guise*, that was the point, and it seemed almost impossible to get over it. Besides this, there were two other Things which mightily perplexed the Queen; the Faction of the Prince *de Condé* in the Parliament, and the General Assembly of the Reformed at *Grenoble*. The one was powerful enough to raise an Insurrection in *Paris* during the absence of the King. And *Bouillon* was not without his Creatures in the other, that would engage him to embrace the Party of the Prince. The Court was pretty secure of the principal Magistrates of the Parliament; and for the most declared Friends of the Prince, they thought themselves able enough either

The Life of the

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ther to frighten, or to hinder them by some surprizing and sudden Blow. But let what would happen, they hoped the People when they were throughly informed that the discontented Party only minded their own Interests, under the specious Pretence of being mainly concerned for the Ease and relief of the Publick, they would not very readily rise in their Favour. The Marechal de Lefdigueres had promised to have a watchful Eye over the Proceedings of the Assembly of the Reformed, on whom he had an Influence at Grenoble, and to prevent them from coming to any Resolutions that should be contrary to the Deigns of the Court. Who could tell likewise, whether this Ambitious and Interested Man had not some private views of his own? There was a very strict Correspondence between him and the Duke of Savoy, who wished for nothing more than to see a Civil War kindled in France. All these Considerations together, put Mary de Medicis into a world of disorder and confusion.

To prevent any ill Impressions that the Pamphlets (which should come out by the discontented Party) might make upon the People; the King published a Declaration the 30th of July, which was sent all over France. After a long Recital of the steps his Majesty had taken to engage the Prince of Conde and the Lords of his Party, to attend him in his Progress to Châlons, and the Offers he had made them

them of regulating the Affairs of State 1615.
to the full content of all the World ; he
insinuated that *Condé* and his Friends had
no other Reason for absenting themselves
from Court, but the just Refusal his Ma-
jesty thought himself obliged to make of
granting them some Things which they
demanded to serve their own particular
Interests. He afterwards required all Go-
vernours, Lieutenants General, and in a
word, all those who had any Employ-
ments in the Provinces, to take care that
there should be no levying of Soldiers, no
surprizing of Towns, no making of In-
furrections, nor any Admittance of the
Prince of *Condé*, and the Lords of his Par-
ty, into any Place whatsoever. In the
close, the King protested that his full In-
tentions were to maintain Peace and U-
nion amongst his Subjects of both Reli-
gions, and to cause the Edicts of Pacifica-
tion to be *inviolably observed*. This was
published to remove all Jealousies, that
the Marechal de *Bourillon* endeavoured to
raise in the minds of the *Reformed Churches*.
This Precaution did not lose its whole
Effect, for they without much difficulty
did suffer themselves to be perswaded, that
the Prince and the Lords who were joined
with him, had more their own In-
terests in their view and thoughts, than
those of the People. The foolish At-
tempts of the former Year made People
not a little to suspect the Integrity and Pru-
dence of *Condé*. Amongst those who had

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no patience to endure the Abuses of the Government, several resolved to see before they would openly declare themselves, what would be the consequence of all this. The Neutrality the Duke de Nevers affected then, tho' he had sufficiently declared himself for the Prince the year before, kepr also divers People in suspense. They construed his Politicks very variously. Some said they would not engage themselves hand over head without due Consideration; others suspected him of having a Design of getting himself bought off by the Court at a very great Rate. Those who valued themselves upon their deeper penetration, publickly declared, that the Duke being of the Family of Gonzague, thought in the present Conjunction of the Affairs of that House, that he ought neither to disoblige the Court of France, nor that of Spain, who protected the Duke of Mantua against the Duke of Savoy.

The King's Declaration might have been also of Service to cross the Intrigues of the Marechal de Bouillon in the Assembly of the Reformed at Grenoble, had not that of the Clergy which was held at the very same time at Paris, given too great an Advantage to the Protestants, who were the Prince of Condé's Friends, and even just cause of Suspicion to those, who had no other Design than to live quietly in their Religion under the Protection of the Edicts. The wise du Plessis Mornai had labour'd very hard to bring over their Minds

Minds to a good disposition for Peace. 1615.
 He represented in a Memorial drawn up ^{the prudent} for the general Deputies of the Reform- advice of du ed Churches, that the Assembly ought ^{nai to the Re-} make their Condition firm and stable than ^{formed Chur-} ^{ches of France.} to go about to better it ; and that it was ^{The Life of} more expedient for them to establish U. M. du Plessis ^{Mornai} nion and good Correspondence among L. III. themselves, than to keep them in a con- ^{Letters and} tinual agitation in the hopes of some un- ^{Memoires of} certain and inconsiderable Advantages. ^{the same.} 1615.

Besides the redress of the Grievances we lye under, and the Performance of what has been promised Us, added he, we ought to propose at most but some few just and necessary Articles grounded upon the Edict of Nantes, and suitable to the present Conjuncture of the Kingdom, for fear it should be laid to our Charge, that we only designed to quarrel. The Court is afraid of our Assemblies. They are permitted Us with great Difficulty. If we manage our selves with Moderation, we shall be the more likely to obtain the King's Brief to hold them on. It is by all means very requisite we scould prevent any bad impressions that may be given of us to a Prince that is but yet young. He will most certainly hate us, if once he bends his first Arms against us. I would fain advise you to depute some Men to him, that might be able to take off the ill Impressions which Care has been taken to work in him against our Holy Religion, of which they should lay before him the Beginning, the

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Progress, and the Establishment it has met with in France. Our Enemies are continually shewing to his Majesty the Scars ; let us endeavour to discover to him those who have made the Wounds that were healed by the late King. Let Us not flatter ourselves. All the Princes of Europe, and even the Protestants themselves wish that France might be peaceable and flourishing. What other Balance are they able to set up against the Power of the House of Austria ?

Mornay's Reflections were very judicious : and he is mightily to be commended for having endeavour'd to establish such just Maximis in the Reformed Churches of France. But in good earnest, I much question, whether the King would have been better inclined towards them, if they would have taken the Scheme of this Religious and prudent Gentleman ? The Reformed were so far from rising up against the Son of Lewis XIII. that they very powerfully served him in the Civil Wars during his Minority : And yet notwithstanding is he not the most implacable Enemy, and the most cruel Persecutor of their Religion ? They have endeavoured to justify before him the lawfulness, the beginning, and the Progress of the Reformation in France ; yet has Lewis XIV. for all that harkened to them ? Both the Father and the Son brought up in a most gross Ignorance of true Christianity by two superstitious Mothers and bigotted Governors, that had no Knowledge

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ledge at all of the Gospel, imbibed this Principle into their tenderest Youth, that the greatest Service they could offer to God, was, to root out of their Kingdom a Religion, which some Men were pleased to represent to him in the worst of Colours. *Du Plessis* did not content himself with sending these excellent Instructions that I have related; the Prince of Condé having begun his Motions about the time of the opening of the Assembly of Grenoble, *du Plessis* also inculcated into the Deputies, who came to see him before their setting out for Dauphiny, that the Cause of Religion was not to be mingled with any other, how just and reasonable soever in Appearance. I do not pretend, said he again, to reflect upon the Prince, nor the Lords that are joined with him. It belongs to them to justify the Up-rightness of their Intentions before him who searches all Hearts. But it doth not concern our Assemblies to take any Cognizance of the Affairs of State. We ought at most to concur with his Highness for the reforming what is contrary to our Edicts: Such is the Coronation Oath: Such is the reception of the Council of Trent.

All did not come in at first to the Reasons that *du Plessis* advanced. The Sermons of some Jesuits had alarmed ^{The Assembly of the Clergy} ^{to receive the} great many People. These violent Preachers did very unseasonably discover the Designs both of the Court of Rome, and Cabal of the Bigots in the Affair of the double

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double Match. 'Tis somewhat surprizing, said they in the Presence of the Court, *that the Catholicks should be against a Treaty, the chiefeſt end of which is the Extirpation of Heresy.*

However, the Pacifick Counſels of *Mernai* for Peace would have carried it againſt the Inſinuations of the Mareſchal *de Bouillon*'s Creatures, if the Clergy had not at the ſame time made one of the moſt ill contrived and moſt oppoſite Paſces to the Tranquility of the Kingdom, that had been ſeen for many Years before. The Prelates and the Eccleſiaſticks of the ſecond Order being only assembled to renew their Contract with the Town-Houſe of *Paris*, and to examine the Accounts of the General Receiver of their Revenues, reſolved then to ſwear, that they would receive the Council of *Trent*. The Archbiſhop of *Augustopoli*, Coadjutor of *Rouen*, was ordered to declare the ſame in a Remonſtrance he made to his Maſteſty in the name of the Clergy, and to preſs him alſo to iſſue out his Writ for tummoning a Convocation of the Provincial Councils, that ſo the Decrees of *Trent* might be there ſolemly received. *Mary de Medicis*, and Chanceller *de Sillery* were highly exasperated by this unlucky Resolution. The latter very loudly expreſſed his Reſentment of it to the Cardinal *de la Rochefoucault*, who had a great Hand in this proceeding of the Clergy, in ſomuch that they came both of them

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them to high Words. Neither was the Court any better pleased with the Remonstrance that the Bishop of Beauvais had made but a few days before. He demanded the Re-establishment of the Roman Catholick Religion in the Principality of Bearn, and that the Reformed might be punished for the pretended Sacrilege that had been committed by them at Milbaud in the County of Rouergue. These Gentlemen, said some Courtiers, that were mad to see the imprudence of the Clergy, doⁿt care if they put the whole Kingdom into a Flame, provided they can but kindle their own Fire by it, and be restored to the possession of their particular Revenues. This is what sticks closer to their Hearts than the Tranquility of the Nation, and the Propagation of the Catholick Faith.

Some few Days after the publishing of the King's Declaration, the Prince de Condé dispatched a Gentleman of his House with Letters to their Majesties, wherein his Highness intreated them to give him leave to send to all the Parliaments, all the considerable Corporations in the Kingdom, and in a word, to all the Princes and States in Alliance with the Crown of France, a Manifesto dated at Couci the 9th of August, and addressed to all the Orders and Corporations of France. The Draught it was very long; and in it Condé complains, that the Queen being too credulous and prepossessed with evil Coun-sels, The Prince de Condé his Manifesto. Merc. Fran-
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sels, would not be prevailed upon to have regard to the Remonstrances that his Highness had several times made Her touching the ill management of Affairs. He made a very strange representation of the manner how every thing had been carryed in the States General, where all Freedom of Speech had been suppressed. Then followed the Article of the Third Order, which was called the most wholesome part of the Assembly, and the Prince mightily exclaimed against the Clergy for their Eagerness to make the Sovereign Authority of the King in Temporals, a problematick and doubtful Question. The Mareschal d'Ancre was likewise there very ill used. Candé plainly accused him of having sent for Jews and Magicians to Paris, by whose means he had as some reported, contrived the Death of his Highness, the Duke de Longueville, and several other Lords.

From thence he passed on to lay open the great oppression of the People; the squandering away of the Publick Money; the precipitation that was taken about the King's Marriage; the Contempt that had been put upon the ancient Allies of the Crown, which they had abandoned to the oppressive Power of the House of Austria; the severe Reprimandes made to the Parliament of Paris upon the Subject of their Remonstrances; and in short, the Grounds of Suspicion and Mistrust given to the Reformed. The Oath lately

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taken by the Clergy for receiving the Council of Trent, was not forgot. His Highness did highly extol the Parliament.

'Tis no wonder, said he, that those who have violated all the Laws, endeavour to pull down the Authority of that great Senate.

..... If the King's Age does not yet permit him to be apprehensive of the Dangers to which this Kingdom is exposed, and if all access to his Majesty is denied to those who are able to make them known to him, can we have Recourse any where else but to the Parliament, where the Princes, the Dukes, Peers, and the Officers of the Crown have a right to sit? In case the Complaints made be found to be false, those who are accused cannot justify themselves before a more august Tribunal. And suppose they are well grounded, who are more capable than the Parliament to redress the Abuses of the Government? The Prince did not express himself less favourably against the Attempts of the Clergy, who had in the presence of the King and his Council, to the great Contempt of the Authority and Honour of the Crown of France, solemnly sworn that they would receive and observe the Council of Trent. A Thing unheard of, added he, and which has never been practised either in France or any Place else. He was in the right of it. The Sovereign Authority ought to intervene in an Affair of that Importance. The States which have received the Decrees of Trent, have done so likewise. The Council was no where

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published, but where every one had first set such Restrictions and Modifications to it as they thought necessary for the preservation of their Properties and Liberties,

And to gain over the Reformed Churches to his Interest, the Prince furthermore declared, that the Edicts of Pacification ought to be kept as the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom; and his Highness very lively represented the just Grounds of Suspicion which had been given to the Reformed. They know very well, said he, that the Court strives more than ever to foment Divisions among them, and the more to weaken them, the Government endeavours to corrupt some private Persons of their Religion, either by Presents or Pensions. The Infraction of the Edicts in divers places of the Kingdom is notoriously manifest. They complain of this, but all Redress of their Grievances is denied to them. The Court is about raising Troops, and making great Preparations for War without any evident Necessity. All these things give them just Occasion to fear, lest under the pretence of the double Match with Spain, they should have a Design to annul the Edicts, and so renew the Persecution against them. The World was amazed to see the Prince de Condé so favourable to the Reformed. He affected a sort of Bigotry, but the penetrating Men of his own Religion made a Jest of it. The Writers on the behalf of the Court reproached him that on Good Friday he went from Church to Church

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Church with Bals in his Hand to gain Indulgences, and that he had a few days afterwards assisted at the Procession of the Fraternity of Jerusalem. These Superstitions were unbecoming a Person of his high Birth and Quality, who had had his first Education among the Reformed, and valued himself upon his having more Knowledge and Judgment than others. The more discerning People of the Reformed Party did rightly judge, that they ought not to rely upon the Protection of a Prince, that was either naturally superstitious, or ridiculously played the Hypocrite, the more easily to deceive the common People of the Roman-Catholick Church.

The Complaints of his Highness seemed well enough grounded. But he expressed too much Bitterness and Venome against the Mareschal d' Ancre, who was not much over and above worse than the rest of the Courtiers. Bullion and Dole named in this *Manifesto*, did not seem neither considerable enough to be the particular Object of the Hatred of a Prince of the Blood, and the greatest Lords of the Kingdom, nor to be the Subject of their Discontent. This was to do more Honour to two Persons of their Character than they deserved. After these Complaints I have now given an Account of, and some others that I omit, Condé protested before God and Men, for himself in the name of many other Dukes, Peers, Officers

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ters of the Crown, Gouvernours of Provinces, Lords, Knights, Gentlemen, and in a word, on behalf of divers Provinces, Towns and Commonalties, making up, as was said, the best, and the soundest part of the Kingdom of France, who were associated together for the Preservation thereof: The Prince, I say, declared that his Highness and those of his Party were not consenting, and had no hand at all in the pernicious Councils made use of for the Governing and Administration of the Affairs of the Kingdom; and that they thought themselves all under an Obligation, to expose their Lives and Fortunes to bring off the King from Oppression, to preserve his Majesty from the Dangers wherewith he was threatened, to cause the Edict of Pacification to be maintained, to procure the Relief of the People, and to make Justice reign throughout his Dominions.

Nothing was more reasonable, and if these Protestations were as sincere as they were specious, all good Frenchmen ought to have commended the Prince de Condé, and the Lords of his Party. They did promise afterwards to lay down their Arms, which they had thought themselves under that Necessity obliged to take up, so soon as ever the King should be more free and better advised, and had provided for the Remonstrances of the Prince, and those of the States-General, and the Parliament. They did also beseech his Majesty, that he would please to order the ordinary Forms to be observed in his Contract

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tract of Marriage, and to send it to the Parliament, as he was obliged to do, and had been always practised, to be there confirmed and registered. To conclude, Condé required of all the several Orders of France to join themselves to him, and assist him on so just an Occasion, and he demanded also the same thing of all Princes and Foreign States allied to the Crown of France.

This *Manifesto* was sent to all the Princes, Dukes, Peers, and Officers of the Crown, to the Parliaments, and other Sovereign Courts of Judicature, to the Governors of Provinces, and chiefest Towns, with Letters to each Person, and to every Corporation in particular. His Highness did not think himself obliged to write to the Clergy then assembled at Paris. He had too highly expressed his Resentments against their late Proceedings. Besides, who knows whether Condé did not look upon the Ecclesiasticks as Men unworthy to enter into a Confederation, which was made up (as he was pleased himself to say) of the soundest part of the Kingdom? Thole Men who were Slaves to the Court and Favours of Rome, in hopes to obtain great Benefices, to which the Mareschal d'Ancre absolutely presented, to be sure had no great Inclination to receive a *Manifesto*, that demanded a due observation of the Edicts which had been given in Favour of the Reformed, and for the Removal of Conchini. 'Tis re-

*The Prince of
Condé dis-
perses his Ma-
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*Mercure
Francois.
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ported that all Sovereign Chambers returned to the King the Packets the Prince had sent them, without so much as offering to open them. If the Parliament of Paris shewed such a base and pitiful Complaisance, it is a sign they had soon forgot the great Pretensions which the Magistrates were willing but a few Days before to maintain with so much Courage. This was but a very bad acknowledgment for the Honour his Highness had made to the Assembly, by earnestly desiring of them *not to suffer during the Minority of the King, that certain Ministers of State should so vilely abuse the name of his Majesty, to the overthrowing of the ancient Maxims and the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, for the preservation whereof Parliaments had been originally established.* Condé had in vain invited them to join with him, and protested to them that his Proceedings were only designed for the good of the Publick, without any regard to his private Interest; for they would not believe him.

As his Highness was chiefly labouring to gain over the Reformed Party, he sent Courtenai Blénau to Saumur to carry his Manifesto thither, and some private Letters to du Plessis Mornai. This Great Good Man first commended the Prince of Condé for his Courage and Zeal, and expressed that he doubted not of the good Intentions of his Highness, and withal frankly acknowledged, that there were great

A wise Answer of du Plessis Mornai to the Gentleman whom the Prince had sent to him.

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great Grievances to be redressed in the Kingdom. But having read the *Manifesto*, he coldly asked Courtenai, whether the Prince had *a good Army to assert* The Life of
M. du Plessis
L. III. these great Designs will come to nothing like those of the last Year. His Highness, answered Courtenai, is sure of fifteen thousand Soldiers; his Majesty of Great Britain assists him with six thousand, who are already embarked. Prince Maurice furnishes him with four thousand, and the rest are to come from Germany. Sir, replied du Plessis, smiling, 'tis not for me to say such things. I know the Maxims and Proceedings both of the Court of England and the States-General of the united Provinces. It is above forty Years since I have been in Negotiation with those Powers. I assure you that the Prince will find nothing in a readiness on that side. Du Plessis thought that his Highness might better rely upon the Count John of Nassau, who having quitted the Service of the Duke of Savoy, promised to bring some Troops from Germany; and upon Montigni, who was in Bresse, assembling some French Soldiers whom Charles Emanuel had disbanded, pursuant to the Treaty of Asti: But even these Succours which seemed more certain than all the rest, failed. The Count of Nassau went into the King's Service; and Montigni being recovered of a dangerous Fit of Sickness, retired to Groenobie.

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This Occasion seemed favourable to *du Plessis*, who would not have been much displeased to have seen the Treaty of the double Match broke off, whereat all the Protestants were alarmed. He therefore humbly represented to the King, that the Progress of his Majesty to Guienne might be attended with very evil Consequences, *Paris* being exposed to great Insurrections, and the discontented Party having at their Command some Provinces on this side of the River Loire. I have often importuned the Ministers of your Majesty, said this prudent Gentleman, by intreating them to take into their serious Consideration the Complaints of our Churches. They have refused hitherto to hear me. 'Tis dangerous to wait any longer to give them Satisfaction, for fear they should be compelled to join their Interests to those of the Prince. *Du Plessis* wrote to the Queen and some of the Privy-Council to the same purpose: But they would not believe him. The Queen mistrusted him about the Article of the double Marriage. She was not ignorant that he did not approve of that Business. The Endeavours of the Prince de Condé were not like neither to turn to any great Matters. And the Assembly of the Reformed at Grenoble neither took their Measures quick enough, nor were they so just as they ought to have been, to profit by that juncture. The King did not answer *du Plessis* till he was set out from *Paris*. His Majesty

jesty then told him, that he had kindly received his *Remonstrances*, and that the Council had taken his Reasons into their Consideration. But some Reasons of greater Weight have carried it, said the King; I have past my Word, and I must forthwith perform what I have promised to the King of Spain.

The Prince de Condé had so ill concert^ded his Measures, that the Queen was in hopes she might have time enough to accompany her Daughter as far as Bourdeaux, and stay there till the arrival of the Infanta after the exchanging of the two Princesses, and to return to Paris, before the discontented Party had assembled a sufficient number of Troops for making any considerable Attempt. Therefore Mary de Medicis did hasten the Progress to Gienne as much as possibly she could. However, before her setting out it was absolutely necessary, that some Person (in whom she could confide) should be named to command the Army that was appointed to cover Paris, and oppose the Prince de Condé, in case he should attempt to pass over the River Loire, and advance towards the Provinces, where the Reformed Party (whom his Highness most earnestly sollicitated to declare for him) was the most prevailing. The Duke of Epernon, in whom the Queen very much confided, the Chancellor, and the Chevalier de Sillery proposed to the Marshal d'Ancre to take upon him that Command.

The Command
of the Army
against the
Prince of Con-
de is offered to
the Marshal
d'Ancre.

They profered also to use all their Interest with the Queen to obtain it for him. This was an honourable Pretence to get him removed from Court. They flattered themselves that during his absence, they might have time enough cunningly to insinuate into *Mary de Medicis*, that she might easily break off all the Factions by sacrificing *Conchini* to the resentment of the Prince *de Condé* and the discontented Lords. *Epernon* could not bear with the Favourites; and the two *Silleri's* fancied that they might keep in Favour with the Court, and reconcile themselves to the Prince *de Condé*, in case the Queen should resolve to abandon to his Resentment a Man, whose Favour and Interest seemed to be the chiefest Ground of the Discontent of his Highness, the Duke *de Longueville*, and the other Lords, (excepting only the Mareschal *de Bouillon*.) The Chancellor and his Brother foresaw that some Body would be made a Victim for the Peace, whenever they should come to a Treaty, and that it would infallibly fall hard either upon them or upon *Conchini*.

Whether the Mareschal *d'Ancre* did not perceive the Snare that was laid for him, or that he thought he might be more cunning than those who had thus prepared the Ambush, we know not; but he consented to accept the Command of the Army, and the Queen readily gave her Assent to it. *Conchini* had never lost sight

Memoires de la Regence de Marie de Medicis.
La vie du Duc d'Epernon.
L. III.

of

of the Design he had framed from the first Day of the Regency of *Mary de Medicis*; which was, to remove from Court the Duke *d'Epernon*, the ancient Ministers, and some other Persons, to the end, that he might himself be the sole Master of all Publick Affairs. He did not much trouble himself about waiting continually on the Queen. *Galigai* his Wife was able to act during his Absence, and to break all the Measures of his secret Enemies. It was not very difficult for *Conchini* being at the Head of an Army in the Neighbourhood of the Prince *de Condé*, to reconcile himself to his Highness by the Mediation of the Mareschal *de Bouillon*, who desired nothing more than to have a greater Share in Affairs of the Government. By a secret Collusion between the *Italian* and the discontented Party, *Conchini* was not without hopes, that he should be able to get the Queen to sacrifice the Duke *d'Epernon*, the two *Silleri's*, the ancient Ministers, and several others. But the Projects which were grounded upon the Command of the Army, that was offered to him with a Design to ruin him, were soon countermined.

Epernon and the *Silleri's* became sensible of the Fault they had been guilty of, by putting the Command of the Army into the Hands of a Man who had entered two Years before into the Cabal of the Prince *de Condé*, to ruin them. They were apprehensive that it would not be

*Conchini is
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difficult for the Mareschal de Bouillon to renew an Intreague that he had already promoted. They therefore appointed the Chevalier de Silleri to represent to the Queen, that the People of Paris were already murmuring, because the Command of the Army was put into the Hands of a Stranger universally hated by all the World. The Prejudice of the Parisians against the Mareschal d'Ancre is such, said the dissembling Knight, that your Majesty ought to fear, lest the Parisians should open the Gates of their City to the Prince, if he should resolve to draw his Troops to it. Mary de Medicis was fully convinced that so quick a Turn proceeded from some secret Intrigue; but she dissembled her Thoughts with all the Moderation and Prudence she was Mistress of. The Duke d'Epernon was very necessary to her in this present Conjuncture. If I have committed a Fault, said the Queen, You have your selves advised me to it. But seeing you think fit that the Command of the Army should be given to another, you shall not find me wanting in my Consent to it. Conchini having been thus excluded, the Mareschal de Bois-Dauphin of the ancient and Illustrious Family of Laval was put into his room.

*The Artifices
of the Mares-
chal d'Ancre
to ruin the
Duke d'Eper-
non and the
Silleri's.*

The Italian then resolved to repair to his Government of Amiens, with a Design to take his Revenge by all the ways he could of the Duke d'Epernon and the Silleri's. Before his departure, he in-

situated into the Queen, that the Chevalier de Silleri had concerted Measures with the Court of Spain, to deprive her of the Authority with which the King her Son had invested her, since he was come of Age, and that the Duke d'Epernon was concerned in the Plot. Mary de Medicis the more easily believed him, because she was not ignorant that some Persons had carried on Intrigues at the Court of Madrid, who had already but too great an Influence upon all the Proceedings of the Court of France, and were still like to have more for the future in all probability, to advance and promote their own Interests the better by means of the new Queen. In short, being perswaded of all that the Marechal was continually repeating to her, this jealous and revengeful Prince resolved to sacrifice Epernon and the Silleri's to the discontented Party, as soon as ever the condition of her Affairs would permit it. Galigai acted with so much address and cunning during the Progress to Guienne, that her Husband had the opportunity of making himself more powerful than ever, and to promote his own Interest by a Civil War, which had been designed for the ruine of his Fortune. He had this Advantage and Pleasure to remove from Court all those who crossed his Designs, and to cause the first Offices of the Kingdom to be given to his Creatures. Conchini relying upon the continuance of his Favour against

against all the efforts of so great a number of private as well as declared Enemies, caused openly to be reported before the King's departure, to the *Chevalier de Silleri*, that he should never return to the Court, and that the Queen was well enough informed of his Negotiations at *Madrid*, to deprive her of her Authority, and to remove the faithful Servants of her Majesty from the Management of all publick Affairs.

The Departure of their Majesties for Guienne.

Memoires de la Regence de Mary de Medicis.

La vie du duc d'Epernon. L. III.
Journal of Bossompierre.

The Queen committed almost the same Fault as she had done the Year before. She had been advised to put off for a Fortnight longer her Journey to *Guienne*, and to go her self with the King as far as *Laon*, or *S. Quintin*, entirely to secure to themselves the *Isle of France and Picardy*, and to hinder the Prince de *Condé* and the Lords of his Party from joining together, and assembling their Troops so near *Paris*. But *Mary de Medicis* whose Heart was wholly intent about the Conclusion of this business of the double Match, neglected following so good an Advice as this was. The Council of the Duke d'*Epernon* was more agreeable to her Majesty, because it did suit best her Passion. He had set the time of the Progress on the 17th of *August*: To bear the Charges thereof, the Queen immediately took eight hundred thousand Crowns, which were still remaining of the Money that her Husband had left in the *Bastille*. The Mareschal de *Bois-Dauphin* had Orders to cover

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ver Paris, to stop the marching of the Army of the discontented Party, and not to run the hazard of a Battle. The Dukes *de Guise* and *Epernon* had taken upon themselves the Care of safely conducting their Majesties to *Bourdeaux*. *Guise* was to wait on the Lady *Elizabeth* of France as far as the Frontiers of the Kingdom, there to receive the *Infanta*, and to bring her into the Capital of *Guienne*, where their Majesties staid for her. Through a Modesty grounded perhaps more upon Pride and Self-love than solid Virtue, *Epernon* had refused all sort of Command, *I will not*, said he, *give any Jealousy to the other Lords who are wedded to the Interests of the Queen*. He contented himself with the appearance of domineering in the Council of a Princess who strangely mistrusted him, and began to look upon him as her Enemy, though he promised to overcome without any trouble, all the obstacles that those of the *Reformed Religion*, who were dissatisfied about the double Match, should raise to retard the King's Progress, either in *Poitou*, or in the adjacent Provinces of *Guienne*.

The Marquess *de Coeuvers* had also given the Queen very good Advice, which was to appoint *Cressi sur Serre* for the Place of general Rendevous of the King's Army. By securing that advantageous Post, they might have intercepted all Communication between *Picardy* and *Normandy* with *Champagne*; so that the Prince

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1615. *de Condé* would have been necessitated to draw up his Forces all about *Sedan*, not being able to have gone any further. The Duke *de Nevers* had many Places on that side, and he had not as yet declared himself for the discontented Party. *Condé* could not possibly advance towards *Picardy* until he had made himself sure of him, and that would have required a good deal of time. And though his Highness could have been able to have surmounted the Obstacles that should arise in *Champagne*, yet the King's Army being posted at *Cressy*, might have prevented the Enemies from marching any further. *Mary de Medicis* shewed no more regard to this second Advice than she had done to the former. The Marquis *de Coeuve* was suspected by her, and the Duke *d'Espernon* who then ruled all things bore him an old Grudge. *When* ever private Resentments are preferred to the Interest of the King's Service, said *Coeuvre* very wittily on this occasion, they always bring great Calamities upon the State. *Condé* knew how to make his Advantage of this neglect of the Queen. He appointed *Cressy* for the general Rendezvous of his Troops, the Situation of that place being favourable to his Designs. *Mary de Medicis* satisfied that she had caused the Mareschal *de Beau-Dauphin* to advance as far as *Dammartin* to cover Paris. She sent away the young King very early upon the Day

*Mémoires de
M. de Sirot.*

Dammartin to cover Paris. She sent away the young King very early upon the Day

Day appointed. And a few Hours after 1615, she her self followed her Son. The Lady ^{Mercure} Elizabeth was to set out the last, that ^{so} Francois, the Provost of the Merchants, and the ^{1615,} Echevins might pay to her the Honours due to the Daughters of France on the like occasions.

Le Fay, President au Martier, was one of the most intimate Friends of the Prince de Condé. He bore a great sway in the Parliament, and the Court looked upon him as a Man who had been the most solicitous for the issuing out of the Decree made the 28th of March, and the most zealous Promoter of the <sup>The Impris-
ment of the
President le
Jay.</sup> *Remonstrances* presented to the King. They did not know likewise but *le Fay* might take an Opportunity in the Absence of the King, to make a motion concerning the Decree for calling the Princes, the Dukes Peers, and the Officers of the Crown to the Parliament. The Pretence of preventing the Calamities that a Civil War would unavoidably bring upon *France*, was still more plausible than that which they had set forth before. The Court could not then stop the Parliament's Proceedings, by alledging that such Things ought not to be done without the King's Permission, whilst he is present in the Capital City of his Kingdom. These Jealousies put the Queen upon securing the Person of the President. Therefore they got him first to be made acquainted that his Majesty had some Thoughts to take him.

^{Mercure}
^{Francois.}
1615.

him along with him in his Progress to *Guienne*, and to make use of the continual Counsels of so discerning a Magistrate. *Le Jai*, who did not think he deserved such a Mark of Distinction from the King and Queen, was wisely apprehensive that they designed something else by it than to bestow so great an Honour upon him. He entreated their Majesties to dispence him from going so long a Journey, the fatigue of which, his broken and scatter'd Health could not be able to bear. This Excuse of the President (who seemed in all outward appearance healthy enough) confirmed the Suspicions of the Court. They believed he had a mind to continue at *Paris*, with a Design to embroil Affairs there in favour of the Prince *de Condé*. The Queen therefore resolved to cause him to be apprehended, and to shut him up in the Castle *d'Amboise*, as soon as the Court (which was to go that way) should be arrived there.

The Day of the King's Departure they came very early to acquaint the President, that his Majesty would speak with him; and when he was dressed, two *Exempts* of the Guards, accompanied with fifteen Life-guard Men, put him into a Coach with six Horses. Immediately they drew the Curtains; and instead of carrying him to the *Louvre*, they brought him to the King's Retinue, who were at the same time coming out of *Paris*. His Wife present-

1615.

sently complained of it to the Parliament ; she informed them how her Husband had been taken away. The Chamber appointed a certain number of Magistrates to go to the *Louvre* to demand the Liberty of the President. But it was too late, their Majesties were already gone. Upon a second Complaint made by *Madam le Fay*, the Parliament deputed to the Court a President and some Counsellors, to know of his Majesty, what he designed to do with *M. le Fay*. To make him serviceable to him during his Progress, said they bluntly to them. And this was all the Answer they had to bring to their Assembly. Was not this now to join Insult to Violences ?

To take away the Princes, the Lords, the Magistrates, and other well affected Men, to clap them up in a close Prison, to keep them there languishing for several Years, and sometimes for their whole Lives. These have been the mighty means that *Lewis XIII.* and much more his Son, have taken to establish their Arbitrary and absolute Power. Where are now those Men to be found who have Courage enough, or so much as Love for their own Countrey, to expose themselves to lose their Fortunes , their Liberty, their Lives, for the defence of the Rights of the People ? a *Brutus*, a *Cato*, a *William Prince of Orange*, are such Men as are very scarce. God forbid I should take away from Sovereigns their Right of se-

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curing the Persons of those of whom they may have just Grounds of Suspicion to be ill affected to the Government, and to have a Design to disturb the Nation. But on the other side, 'tis also very just that after some certain stated time, private Subjects may be impower'd to demand to be set at liberty, or to be tryed according to the Laws of their Country, otherwise there will be no longer any Security in the World. A Minister of State, an imperious Favourite, an unjust Prince will unavoidably ruin honest Men who would oppose their Attempts. Happy is that People who have an ancient Law which they call *Habeas Corpus!* How am I pleased to see that they are extremely jealous of it! 'Tis the strongest Bulwark of their Liberties.

The General Assembly of the Reformed Churches of France at Grenoble.

*Memoires of the Duke of Rohan. L I.
The Life of M. du Plessis L III. Letters and Memoires of the same.*

Whilst the Confidants of *Rohy de Medois* were labouring at *Paris* to disappoint the Projects of the Prince de Condé, who was attempting to make an Insurrection of the People during the absence of the King, the Mareschal de *Lestignieres* kept in as fair as possibly a cunning Man could do, with the Deputies belonging to the General Assembly of the Reformed Churches of France, held at that time at *Grenoble*, to keep them from hearkening to any Proposals the Prince and the Mareschal de *Bouillon* should make them. *Lestignieres* was offered to be their President, although he had not been named to sit in the Assembly. But they thought

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thought themselves obliged to pay him that Honour in the Capital City of a Province, where he was more dreaded and respected than the King himself. The Adroit Marechal refused it with a great shew of Modesty. Such an Employment did not agree with his Designs. Decency would often have necessitated him to maintain the Pretensions of those of his Religion. But as a private Person, or at most as Commander for the King in Dauphine, he might effectually serve the Court, and secretly cross the Designs of the Prince de Condé, and the Marechal de Bouillon too. Therefore *de Bies*, a Gentleman of Berry, was chosen President of that Assembly.

As *du Plessis Mornai* had taken care to prepare him before-hand, and to instruct him in the true Interest of the Reformed Churches, he did concur with *Lefdignieres* to keep the Assembly from ineonfiderately and blindly embracing the Party of the Prince de Condé. The Designs of the Duke *de Rohan* were neither so upright, nor so like a Christian as those of honest *du Plessis*. The Friends and Creatures of *Rohan* at first strengthened the Intentions of the President, and of those who were led by the Directions of the Gouvernor of Saumur. The Duke conducted himself by their Deliberations, because he would not suffer that the Marechal de Bouillon his Enemy, should make himself Master of the Reformed Party, nor that

that they should incline to that side which was most favourable to the politick views of the Mareschal. *Roban* had still some Hopes in depending on the Court. He flatter'd himself, that by crossing the Intrigues of *Bouillon*, he should obtain the Reversion of the Government of *Poitou*. The Duke *de Sully* his Father-in-law had consented to it in favour of his Son-in-law, whom he look'd upon as the sole and only Support of his Family, which was threatened with an approaching Ruin. Nothing could be more suitable to *Roban*, nor more favourable to his Ambition, than to put himself at the Head of the *Reform-ed*, and to declare himself at last their Protector. However, the wise Counsels which *du Plessis Mornas* continually gave to the Members of the Assembly at *Grenoble*, and the several Motions of the Duke *de Roban*, and the Mareschal *Lesdiguières*, each in their turn, and both to cross the Designs of the Mareschal *de Bouillon*; all this I say, proved ineffectual. This able Politician had so well concerted all things, and the Conjunction of Affairs was so auspicious to his Designs, by the Imprudence of *Mary de Medicis*, that the *Reform-ed* Party declared themselves for the Prince *de Condé*. *Roban* was obliged to take up Arms and himself to assist the Mareschal his Enemy, to bring about the greatest part of the Designs he had concerted.

Bouillon had advised the Prince to write 1615.
to the Inhabitants of Rochel, (a Capital Ci-
ty) to desire them if possible, to prevail
with the rest of the Reformed Party, and to
perswade them to follow their Example.
His Highness most earnestly entreated the
Inhabitants of Rochel to further his holy
Intentions for the safety of the Kingdom,
and the Security of the Reformed Religion.

*A Letter
from the
Prince of Con-
de to the Inha-
bitants of Ro-
chel, and to
the Assembly
of Grenoble.*

Then Condé refreshes their Memory with
the powerful Succours that both his Father
and his Grandfather had formerly received
from Rochel. Seeing that I have no less
Affection for your Service, added he, I hope
also that you will have the same good will
towards me. But could his Highness be-
lieve, that the Inhabitants of Rochel, who
were most zealous Lovers of the Reform-
ed Religion, would do as much for a
good Roman-Catholick, who devoutly af-
fisted at the Processions with his Beads in
his Hand, as for two Princes that had so
much contributed to the establishment of
the Reformation in France? The Duke de
Roban was much more esteemed at Rochel
than the Mareschal de Bouillon. There-
fore it was not very difficult for the For-
mer to hinder the Letter of the Prince,
and the Sollicitations of the Mareschal,
from having so great an Impression on
their Minds as they had fancied they
would have. The Inhabitants of Rochel
were naturally to expect that the Assembly
at Grenoble had taken some Resolutions.

Mercure
Francois.
1615.

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*Memoires of
the Duke of
Rohan. L. I.
The Life of M.
du Plessis.
L. II.*

Mercure
Francois.
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A Gentleman, whose Name was *La Haie*, had brought the *Manifesto* to *Grenoble*, with a Letter from his Highness to the Deputies of the Reformed Churches. *La Haie* made a labour'd Speech at the delivery of the *Pacquets* the Prince had charged him with. He assured the Assembly that his Highness resolved to sacrifice himself for the preservation of the Edicts and Privileges which had been granted to the Protestants of France. He represented to them the absolute Necessity of applying speedy and effectual Remedies to the great Disorders of the Kingdom. In a word, he pressed them as from the Prince, to join themselves with Him, the Lords, the Officers of the Crown, and the honest Frenchmen that demanded the Reformation of the Government. This Union, Gentlemen, said the Envoy of his Highness, will be able to put a stop in a very little time to the almost general overflowing of all sorts of Evils, wherewith France at present is sunk. Such a noble Attempt as this is worthy of you. 'Tis not long since that your Fathers have courageously defended the Authority of our Kings, the Rights of the Princes of the Blood, and the Liberties of their own Country. I am not ignorant that such Compliments ought not ordinarily to be literally taken. But however, I relate this as a certain Truth, which the greatest Enemies of the Reformed have been forced to acknowledge. *Condé*, that bigotted Prince, the

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Son of the Duke *de Mayenne*, that famous Lieutenant-General of the League, and divers other zealous Catholick Lords, do openly confess in the Face of all *France*, that the first *Reformed* had taken up Arms in the former Reigns for the defence of the King, the Princes of the Blood, and their own Country.

Frere, Counsellor of State, and Com-*The Assembly*
missioner for the King at the Assembly of *Grenoble*^{of Grenoble}, *send Deputies*
Grenoble, supported by the Mareschal *de la Haie*, *to the King*.

Lesdiguières had less difficulty in crossing the Intrigues of *de la Haie*, and the Creatures of the Mareschal *de Bouillon*, because those who were Friends to the Duke *de Rohan* and *du Plessis Mornai*, used their utmost Endeavours to prevent the *Reformed* Churches from inconsiderately embracing the Proposals made by the Prince. The Assembly only resolved to make use of that Opportunity, for the obtaining somethings which the Court had refused, and would be very unwilling to grant at another Conjunction. The Cahier was speedily drawn up. They demanded therein several things capable of making the Condition of the *Reformed* somewhat better; and they would certainly have obtained them, if they had followed the Advice of *du Plessis Mornai*, who would by no means suffer that the Assembly should offer to speak of Matters purely political, or of any thing concerning the Government of the Kingdom in general. But whether the Duke *de Rohan* was well pleased that the

*Memoires of
Rohan. L. I.
The Life of
M. du Plessis.
Letters and
Memoires of
the same.*

Assembly would not keep entirely within the strict Bounds that *du Plessis* had prescribed them; or whether the Deputies were ashamed absolutely to reject what the Prince *de Condé* and the Mareschal *de Bouillon* had caused to be proposed, some Articles were inserted into the Cahier about the Reforming of the State, at which the Court was extreamly disgusted.

*Mercure
Francois.
1615.*

Such were those Demands, that the famous Article of the *Third State* might be received as a fundamental Law of the Kingdom; and that an Inquiry might be made after the true Authors of the Murder of the late King; that he would be pleased to suppress the Insults of the Clergy and Nobility, who had had the Confidence in the late Assembly of the States General to press for the publication of the Council of *Trente*, and for the exact and inviolable observation of the Oath taken by the Kings of France at their Coronation, to extirpate Hereticks out of all the Territories within their Dominion; that the Ecclesiasticks and some other Persons of the King's Council suspected by the Reformed, might have no decisive Voices in matters concerning the Interest of that Party; and in short, that his Majesty would be pleased to protect the City and Sovereigny of *Sedan*, in the same manner as the Kings his Predecessors had done before. These Articles seemed reasonable enough, and *du Plessis* himself advised them to insist upon them.

They

They might easily have obtained near all of them for asking, if their Complaisance for the Prince de Conde and the Marechal de Bourillon had not carried them out too far in the last Article; even to press hard upon the King to take into his Consideration the Requests made by the Prince and the Lords of his Party, as well as the Remonstrances of the Parliament of Paris concerning the Reformation of the State. This was look'd upon as a Menace from them, that they would join themselves to the Prince, in case they should refuse him the Satisfaction he demanded with his Arms in his Hand. One would have thought that Prudence should have obliged Mary de Medicis and her Ministers to have yielded to this first Step of the Reformed Party, to prevent the Mischief's that might be consequent upon their non-compliance. But the Court so much relied on the Promise of Lestiguier, that he would keep the Assembly of Grenoble from declaring themselves for the Male-contents; that they fancied nothing more was needful for them to do, but to amuse the Reformed with general Words.

The Assembly appointed *Champeaux*, *Des-Bordes Mercier*, and *Mallerat* to carry the *Cabiers* to the King whom they thought to be still at *Paris*. They delivered also to them at the same time a Letter written to his Majesty, which had been penned with a great deal of Care. The first and last of these Deputies were entirely in the Duke

The History of Book VII.

de Roban's Interests: But the Mareschal de Bouillon had gained the second. Frere Counsellor of State, and the King's Commissioner to the Assembly of Grenoble, set out with the three Deputies. *I will*, said he, *second the Demands which these Gentlemen are ordered to make to his Majesty*. But his real Design was to inform the Court how he found the Assembly disposed, and to assure the Queen that the Mareschal de Lef-diguières could command the Resolutions therein taken.

At the same time that the Reformed renewed their Protestations of Fidelity and Affection for the Service of his Majesty, they also highly complained of the ill Designs of the Clergy of France. And withal they endeavour'd to insinuate into the King, that he ought not too far to trust those Men, whom France had just grounds to disown for her Children, and that his Majesty ought by no means to put them into the number of his good Subjects, after they had so boldly opposed the Article of the Third State. 'Tis not so with the French Reformed, replied the Assembly. The Religion which we profess, teaches that there is no power in the World can have any Right to loose us from the Fidelity which we have sworn to your Majesty. The continual Endeavours that our Enemies use to undo us, are a continual Grief unto us. But our Churches, Sir, are still much more sensible of the open Attempts that have been lately made against your Sovereign Authority. We believe that your Protection,

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next under God, is the only thing capable to defend us. This is the Consideration that inspires us with that fervent Zeal for every thing which is able to maintain your Authority. Our Enemies are sufficiently sensible of it; and this exasperates them the more against us. Resolvedly bent to subject all the Sovereign Princes in the World to a Power which God himself has not established, they labour all they can to work the ruin of our Reformation, which will always be an invincible Obstacle to the carrying on of their vast and unjust Designs.

The Reformed of France ought to be for ever commended for having defended with so much Courage the Sovereign and independant Authority of their King, against the Attempts of the Pope and the Clergy. But yet those good People seem to have forgot the true Interests and those of their Party, in setting up themselves that absolute and arbitrary Power, which has since most cruelly crushed them. The imprudent or flattering Ministers, out of too great a Zeal to distinguish themselves from the Roman-Catholicks, did continually preach up the necessity of obeying without Reserve the Commands of their Sovereign, how unjust or exorbitant soever they might be, provided he required nothing of them against Religion and good Conscience. The Court, who were ready to take all Advantages from the favourable disposition of their Minds, were doing all they could to crush the Reformed Party, and to gain those

that were able to maintain it. So that in shorr, it was no such difficult matter to oppres a poor People that were no ways able to defend themselves, and that had been possessed with a Tyrannical Maxim, which had, for I know not how long, been set before them as a Principle of Religion, that *the King was Master both of the Lives and Fortunes of his Subjects.*

*The Deputies
of the Assembly
of Grenoble,
and du
Plessis Mor-
nai have an
Audience of
the King at
Tours.*

The Deputies of the Assembly at Grenoble joined the Court at Amboise. Their Majesties were proceeding in their Progress with all possible Diligence towards Guienne. They promised to give their Deputies Audience, and to receive their Memorials at Tours, where the Court was to rest one Day. Du Plessis Mornai whom the Queen had sent for, came there from Saumur at the same time. Champeaux the principal Deputy made the Speech. His Discourse was much more agreeable to their Majesties, than the Letters and the Memorials of the Assembly. The Court was extremely confounded when they read the Articles concerning the Government of the Kingdom. However the Queen and her Ministers did not think fit to discover their Resentment. So they promised to answer them at Poitiers, where their Majesties had resolved to stay for some time. Honest du Plessis Mornai did with grief observe the Discontent of Mary de Medicis and the Ministers of State. He informed to them, that the Reports which were spread abroad, and the Difficulties that some People made both pub-

*The Life of
M. du Plessis.
L III. Lettres
& Memoires
du Même.*

1615,

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lickly and in private, had raised such great Jealousies in the Minds of the Reformed, that their Assembly thought themselves obliged for the Security of the Religion they professed, to oppose the Publication of the Council of Trent, to demand an Explanation of the Oath that the Kings take at their Coronation, to insist upon the Article of the *Third State*, the searching after the Author of the horrid Murder of the late King, the putting off the double Match with *Spain*, and to speak of some other things which more concerned the Interests of the Kingdom in general, than the particular Affairs of the Reformed Churches. The Queen and her Ministers quietly harkened to the Remonstrances that *du Plessis* made likewise upon the necessity of giving quick Dispatches to the Deputies of the Assembly, and of sending them away with favourable Answers, for fear the Assembly should be too much exasperated, and so be carried out to do somewhat that might prove fatal. But he could get no positive Answer. This affected Silence did mightily increase the Suspicions of a Man that was so able and experienced in publick Affairs. He no longer doubted but the Court was very well assured of the *Mareschal de Lefdiguières*, and relied not at all on the Promise of the Duke *d'Epernon* to the Queen, that she should perform her Progress of *Guienne*, without meeting any Rub or Obstacle to hinder the Success of her Designs.

The History of Book VII.

I cannot here forbear relating one particular of the Discourse that du Plessis had with the Ministers of State. If the Jesuits, said he to the Chancellor de Silleri, do openly in their Sermons tell us, that the Design of the double Marriage with Spain is utterly to root out Heresy; why should you be surprized that our Churches are very much alarmed at it, and that the Memorials of the Assembly make mention thereof? Good God! replied Silleri, must you mind every thing that the Jesuits say? They do not govern the Nation. Sir, said du Plessis again, they are not alarmed at what other Monks may say: But our People believe that they ought to take a particular notice of all the Proceedings and Discourses of the Jesuits. We see them continually attending on Princes and Ministers of State. Under the colour of Religion and Piety, they insinuate their Designs and Political Views into them. Are not they admitted into the Closets of Kings, Princes and great Men? Are not they intriguing in all Affairs? You know this better than I can tell you, Sir, added du Plessis; France has too much felt the fatal Effects of the Advices given by Jesuits. I believe that those good Fathers do not do so much as the World imagines of them. But after all, they are bold and enterprizing Men, and so industrious in bringing their Designs about, that such Persons as are odious, or but suspected by their Society, can never be too much upon their guard against those revengeful and malicious Enemies to the last Degree.

The

The Court arrived the 4th of September 1615. at Poitiers, and tarried there longer than at ^{The Court stays} first they designed. The Lady Elizabeth of ^{as Poitiers.} France fell sick there of the Small-Pox, and they were obliged to continue there till she was perfectly recovered. If the Prince of Condé had taken his Measures right, this Accident had given him a very fair Opportunity to have advanced himself, and hindered the conclusion of the double Match. But his Affairs were in so bad a posture, that he was not able to take his Advange of ^{The Life of} a Sickness, which obliged the Court to tar- ^{M. du Plessis} ry near two Months at ^{Mornai} Poitiers. The Count de S. Pol, who had joined himself to ^{L. III.} the Party of his Highness, was gone to Guienne, where he had his Allies, Friends and Places at his Devotion. He resolved to make an Insurrection in that Province: But he was not able to bring his Design about till the Duke de Rohan and the Reform-ed Party had declared themselves, and then it was too late. S. Pol himself was so irresolute, that the Court got him over to themselves by means of his Wife, (who was extreamly bigotted) at that very time that the Duke de Rohan and the chief of the Reformed in Guienne were acting in concert with him.

The News was brought to Poitiers of the Death of Francis de Joyeuse, ^{The Death of} Dean of the ^{the cardinal} Cardinals, who departed this Life the 27th of ^{of Joyeuse.} August in the City of Avignon. He was the last of five Brothers who had very much adyanced their Fortunes in the time of the Reign.

1615.

MEMOIRE

Francois.

1615.

Gramond

Hist. Gallie,

L. II.

Reign of Henry III. Anne de Joyeuse, the eldest Brother, and a Favourite to that Prince, was the first that raised to that prodigious height his Family, which yet soon after came to an end. He died without Issue, and his younger Brother had but one Daughter married to the Duke de Montpensier, and in a second Marriage to the Duke de Guise. The Cardinal was a Man but little acquainted with Letters, and yet he had advanced himself so as to have a great share in the publick Administration in the former Reigns. He acquired a mighty Reputation in the World by the Negotiation of the Peace between Pope Paul V. and the Republick of Venice. But he did not know how to keep it to the end of his Days. Joyeuse had the Mortification to see himself slighted and undervalued at the Court of France during the Minority of Lewis XIII. A just Punishment upon a Prelate who had laboured more to make himself a great Politician and a crafty Courtier, than to performe the Duties of a Place, which he had only embrac'd to have wherewithal to live in Luxury and Plenty, by means of the rich Benefices his eldest Brother had procured for him.

*Third Termine
the Duke of
Guise and Epernon.*

The Dukes de Guise and Epernon did each of them demand the Collation of the Benefices vacant by the death of the Cardinal, for one of their Sons; Epernon had made his third Son a Clergy-man, and he was already very near posseſſ'd of fifty thousand Crownes a Year in Church-Revenues. Guise design'd one

of

of his younger Children (who was still at 1615.
nurse) for the Church. This Competition

did set at variance two Men the most use-
ful and necessary for *Mary de Medicis* that la Regence
could be. However she relied most upon
Guise; and he carried it over *Epernon*, Of
whom at last the Queen became jealous
through the Artifices of the Marechal *d'Ancre*.
Ancre. The former obtained the Archbi-
shoprick of *Narbonne*, and several other Be-
nifices: The second was obliged to be con-
tent with the Archbishoprick of *Toulouse*.
The Queen thought she ought to join that
to the other Benefices which were enjoyed
by a Man who always loved War a great
deal better than the Study of the Holy Scri-
ptures and Divinity. There was another
thing also that still increased the coldness
and Jealousie between the two Servants of
Mary de Medicis. *Guise*, who had married
the Widow of the late Prince of the Branch
of *Montpensier*, pretended a Right -- the
Guardianship of his Daughter-in-law, a
great Heiress of that rich Family. *Epernon*,
who was great Uncle to that young Prin-
cess, mightily opposed him, and with good
Reason too: For *Guise's* Aim was more to
enrich himself out of the Revenues of the
House of *Montpensier*, than to increase the
Estate of his Ward. And being pretty sure
that the Queen durst not refuse him any
thing in this present Conjunction, he so
earnestly pressed for the Guardianship of the
Princess de *Montpensier*, that her Majesty
was forced to get the Consent of the Duke
d'Eper-

*Mémoires de
la Regence
de Mary de
Medicis.*

*La vie du
Duc d'Eper-*

L. VI. C. VII.

d'Epernon to it, which he yielded to cruelly against the *Grain*, for fear the Duke *de Guise* by joining himself hereafter with the Mareschal *d'Ancre* and those other Lords who hated *Epernon*, should utterly ruin his Interest with the Queen, which he perceived to be already sinking.

The Count de Candale eldest Son to Epernon deserts himself against his Father in favour of the Prince of Condé's Party.

The Life of the Duke d'Epernon. L. VI.

The Life of M. du Plessis. L. III.

Another Mortification more sensibly touched this haughty and imperious Man than the former : The Count *de Candale* his eldest Son, was discontented at him, and this had lasted for some Years. He could not digest *Epernon*'s procuring for the Marques *de la Valette* his younger Brother, the Reversion of the Place of Colonel General of the Foot, and of the Government both of the *Ciry* and Citadel of *Metz*. *Candale* had many times openly shewed his Resentments against his Father, and the Friends of their Family had endeavoured to reconcile them. But whether *Candale* was too jealous of the Advantages granted to his Brother, or whether he was of a rough and untractable Temper, he took no great care about pleasing his Father. The Prince *de Condé* gained him, and *Candale* came over entirely to his Highness, and promised him to make an Insurrection in the Governments of *Saintonge* and *Angoumois*, which Places he had in Reversion, and oppose the Design laid by his Father, of getting the Court to pass through those Countries, and safely to conduct their Majesties to *Bordeaux*. But *Candale* did not take right Measures : And *Eper-*

per-

pernon being acquainted with all his Proceedings, disappointed the Designs of his Son. The Court entered into *Angouleme*, and *Epernon* brought their Majesties safe into *Guienne* as he had promised them. This Disappointment he laid so much to heart, that it had like to have killed him with madnes. Whereupon *Candale* still more incensed than ever against his Father, publickly embraced the *Reformed Religion* which *Epernon* had always hated and persecuted, either out of his own foolish Freaks, or else the better to manage his Interest. This pretended Conversion which Despight and Politicks had rather wrought in him, than Reason and Love for the Truth, was neither sincere nor lasting.

*Memoirs of
the Duke of
Rohan. L. i.*

The Assembly of *Grenoble* had afterwards depputed *Veneville* and *Cagni* to the Prince de Condé. The former was only to make some general Compliments to his Highness, and to return him Thanks for what *la Haie* had told the Assembly as from him. The latter had a more particular Order to sound if he could, the real Intentions of his Highness, and to examine whether his Party were in a Condition to assert the *Manifesto*. And much about the same time the Assembly dispatched other Gentlemen to all the Governours of the Places of Security, and to the chiefest Men among the *Reformed* in the Provinces of *Guienne*, *Saintonge*, *Poitou*, and *Anjou*, to precaution them not to engage themselves to any body, nor to embrace any side whatsoever. They enjoined them

*New Instances
of the Assem-
bly of Greno-
ble in favour
of the Prince
de Condé.*

*The Life of du
Plessis. L. III.
Letters and
Memoirs of
the same.*

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them only to provide for the Security of the Places, and to expect the Resolutions of the Assembly. This Proceeding made the wise *du Plessis Mornai* think that the Creatures of the Marechal de Bouillon began to prevail at Grenob'e, and from that very time he foresaw that the Reformed Churches would suffer themselves to be foolishly drawn into a Civil War, which the Prince de Condé and the Catholick Lords knew well enough how to turn to their own Advantage, and the Consequences of which would be very prejudicial and destructive to the Protestants.

This wise old Gentleman was but very seldom mistaken in his Conjectures. So soon as it was reported at Grenoble that their Majesties were gone for Guienne before the Deputies of the Assembly were arrived at Court, *La Haie*, Envoy of the Prince de Condé, and the Emissaries of the Marechal de Bouillon took mighty pains to encrease the Mistrust and Jealousy of the Reformed, by setting forth their great eagerness to have the double Match with Spain concluded; so that the Assembly resolved to send *du Buiffon* immediately to Court with new Letters to their Majesties to back the Demands that had been made by the Prince de Condé in his *Manifeso*. They complained to the King that he had taken this Journey to conclude his Marriage against the Opinion of the Princes of the Blood, the Officers of the Crown, the greater and best part of his Subjects. After this the Assembly went on to

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to make it their earnest Request, and that pretty boldly too, that he would please to defer that Affair for some time longer, and demanded a good Reformation in the State. *Du Plessis Mornai* was in the right when he thought that this Proceeding was neither prudent nor respectful enough. They should have left it to the Prince *de Condé* and the Officers of the Crown to complain of the ill Administration of Affairs, and they ought to have pressed for a Reformation in the Government. The true Interest of the French Protestants, was for them to make use of that Conjunction to obtain at least something for their own Advantage, to stay till they found what would be the Proceedings of the discontented Party, and to see if they would be strong enough to oblige the Queen to desist from her Pretentions, to change her Council, and to consent to the Matters insisted upon by the States General and the Parliament of *Paris*, in case the Reformed should threaten that they would otherwise join with the Prince *de Condé*. But if the Assembly of Grenoble wanted Prudence upon this Occasion, yet was not their Imprudence so much to be blamed as their Enemies gave out. Did they demand any thing but what the first Prince of the Blood, some great Lords, the Parliament of *Paris*, and all Men that were well affected to their Country, had done already with much more warmth and Earnestness?

Whether *Mary de Medicis* did rely too much upon the weakness of the Prince *de*

*The Prince of
Condé and
his Followers*

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are declared
Rebels and
guilty of high
Treason.

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Condé, and the Promises which *Lesdiguières* had made to her Majesty, that he would take care to prevent the *Reformed* from joining themselves with the discontented Party, or whether she thought it necessary at last to attempt somewhat considerable, to shew that she neither dreaded the Menaces nor the Arms of *Condé*; yet however she so little regarded the new and pressing Instances of the Assembly of *Grenoble*, that it was resolved in the King's Council, that the Prince and his Abettors and Adherents should forthwith be declared Rebels and guilty of high Treason. And an Act was accordingly passed at *Poitiers* the 10th of September to that purpose. They complained therein that *Condé* had often affected to absent himself from Court, since his return into France; they blamed him for having made so many Commotions in the State, for his continual Intriguing, and application in forming daily new Parties, for his unreasonable and capricious Dissatisfactions, notwithstanding all the Favours the Queen had so liberally bestowed upon him. It must be confess'd that these Reproaches were not altogether ill grounded. The Prince had taken less Care about the good Administration of Affairs during the Regency of the Queen, than about the raising of his own Authority, by turning those out of Places who refused to come intirely into his Interests, and putting into them his Friends and Creatures. If he forsook the Court, if he affected to be dissatisfied, it was rather

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to obtain some new Gratifications, or to get the removal of Persons whom he had no Kindness for, than to oblige the Queen Regent ever a whit the better to mind the true Interest either of her Son or his Kingdom.

This Declaration insisted particularly upon the taking up Arms about the beginning of the last Year ; the Insurrections that had been raised at *Poitiers* and elsewhere, since the Conclusion of the Treaty of *Sainte Menehould* ; the caballing of the Prince *de Condé* in the Assembly of the States-General, to bring the three Orders to join together in demanding some Things to the Prejudice of his Majesties Authority, and the Tranquillity of the Kingdom, and in short, his contrivances to promote a Division between the States and the Parliament of *Paris*. But this deserves some Explanation ; for in Truth we ought to do Justice to the Prince *de Condé*. Although his Intentions were not in strictness so upright as they ought to have been, and that we cannot approve of some Proceedings of his since the Treaty of *Sainte-Menehould* ; yet this is most certain, that what he would fain have got the States-General to demand, was reasonable and very advantageous to *France*. But whenever the Relief of the People, and the Reforming of Abuses and Disorders in the Government is proposed, Kings, and especially those of *France*, will be sure to cry out, that their Authority is thereby invaded, and the Clamour is only to trouble

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the Repose of their Subjects. But was it breeding Division between the States-General and the Parliament of Paris, to stir up the Magistrates to oppose the Ecclesiasticks and thole Gentlemen, who being seduced by the Court of *Rome*, were designing to make the Sovereignty and Independance of the Crown of *France* a doubtful and problematick Busines?

I have shewn plainly enough in the Series of this History, that I do not pretend to justify either the secret Designs, nor all the Proceedings of the Prince de Condé and the Lords of his Party. But yet the Charge the King lays upon them on the Account of their last rising up in Arms, is chimerical and altogether groundless. Had they not Reason enough to complain, that the Court would take into their Consideration neither the Demands made by the States-General, nor the Remonstrances made by the Parliament? To raise Soldiers, says the Declaration, to seize upon strong Places, and the Royal Revenues, is *Rebellion* and *High Treason*. Let them shew us then another Remedy against a King or a Queen Regent, when deceived and abused by Ministers, and flattering and ambitious Couriers; they reject with Scorn and Obstinacy all the most reasonable Demands and justest Remonstrances of their oppressed and ruined Subjects. I do own, that the Princes of the Blood, the great Lords, the Officers of the Crown become guilty of *High Treason*, whenever they rise in Arms, pos-

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sell themselves of Places, and seize upon the publick Revenues, only to satisfy their private Ambition, Revenge, or some other Passion : But if they have no other Design than to oppose, cryng Injustices, and the Establishment of Tyranny, then they are so far from blasting their Reputations, becoming unworthy of their Dignities, and deserving to be prosecuted as Disturbers of the publick Tranquility, that they ought to be commended, protected, and supported as Men who are performing what their Birth and their high Dignities do indispensably require of them.

The Parliament of Paris did not think they ought strictly to examine whether this was the Case or not of the Prince de Conde and the Lords of his Party. However, they were of different Opinions when they received the King's Declaration against his Highness and those that adhered to him. The wisest and the best affected for the publick Good, represented that they were obliged in Duty to have some regard for the first Prince of the Blood, and that they ought to lay before the King the Reasons why the Parliament could not ratify the Declaration of his Majesty. 'Tis sufficient, said they, if we forbid the taking up of Arms without having first obtained the King's Commission, and to command the Prince and the other Lords to repair to his Majesty to serve him. These Magistrates being convinced that the Demands of his Highness were just and reasonable, did believe they might get some-

somewhat by way of Negotiation, and thereby avoid a Civil War. But this moderate and wholsom Advice was not received. The Court-Slaves carried it. 'Tis downright Rebellion, cryed they tumultuously; *We shall be Accomplices our selves, if we refuse to obey the King's Will and Pleasure upon this Occasion.* His Majesties Declaration was confirmed in a doubtful and in some Sense illegal manner. Yet notwithstanding the Decree was published and posted up on all the Cross-ways of the City of Paris. Those Gentlemen would have doubtless much obliged the Publick, if they had told them at the same time, that their Decree was suitable to the Remonstrances they had made the King some Months before. For in short, this pretended downright Rebellion was nothing else but to oblige the Queen to take into her Consideration, and to give her Consent to the Reforming of those Abuses and Disorders which the States-General and the Parliament of Paris had demanded. Will they say, we are allowed to make our humble Petitions and Remonstrances to the King upon the ill State of the Government; but we must by no means rise up in Arms to oblige him to redress them if he has not a mind to it? If the Case be so, the worst of Princes might easily come off by only hearkening very gravely to the Speeches and Complaints of his Subjects; and after that, be permitted to have no regard to them at all, but to do whatever he pleases. And if it should so hap-

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happen, that the King will not give ear to any Remonstrances whatsoever, (as we see in this present case:) What Measures ought we to take? It would be very convenient that the Parliament of Paris should resolve us these Difficulties. They deserve the serious Considerations of so judicious and penetrating an Assembly.

As soon as *du Plessis Mornai* was acquainted with the new Steps the Assembly of Grenoble had taken, he labour'd with all the Care imaginable to prevent the unhappy Consequences thereof, which he was apprehensive would fall out. This Gentleman, whose Prudence and Religion I can never enough commend, wrote Letters and sent Memorials to the Mareschal de Lefdi-

Du Plessis
Mornai sends
good Advice
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ly of Greno-
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guieres, the Assembly, the Baron de Blez the President thereof, and several other Persons, wherein he represented to them the ill Consequences of a Civil War, into which some People were endeavouring to engage the

The Life of du
Plessis L. III.
Letters and
Memoires of
the same.

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Reformed Churches. We talk very loudly, said he, but who can tell but we may be forced in a very little time to take with Shame and Sorrow a more modest and submissive Tone? We are labouring to better our Condition, and to make it more secure to us; but ought we not likewise to be afraid lest we bring our selves blind-fold into a War which cannot be carried on with Honour, and the Inconveniences whereof are enough to frighten even the bravest and most courageous Commanders? The Prince is at the other end of the Kingdom, and he does nothing that may oblige the Court to return

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return back. Who knows the secret designs of His Highness? He attacques no place. The Marechal de Bois-Dauphin only watches his Motions, and has express Orders not to hazard any thing. All this plainly shews that both their Designs are rather to adjust Matters than to come to an Engagement. It was discoursed at Tours of sending to the Marechal de Bouillon, and to make some Proposals to him; the Duke de Nevers stands neuter, and seems to be ready to enter into some Negotiation. Let us endeavour only to take our Advantage by this present juncture, and not engage in a War which the Court will revenge upon us.

Let us fear also, pursued du Plessis, lest Foreign Princes should imagine that we are factious, unquiet, and ungovernable in our Tempers, that know not how to live peaceably under the safety of Edicts, and that by unjust and ill concerted Enterprizes we weaken the only Power that is able to oppose the vast and Ambitious Designs of the House of Austria. The Protestant Princes being once prepossessed that the Court has good Reasons to humble and reduce us to such a low Condition, as we may never be able to give any further Disturbance to the King, will no more concern themselves for us, whenever our Enemies shall think fit to rouse us in good earnest. The Busines of the double March is now advanced too far. We must no longer think of being able to break it off. So soon as ever the Queen has concluded it, she will endeavour to satisfy the Prince some other way, and perhaps even both Parties

will

will unite against us. It were to be wished that this new Alliance with Spain could have been disappointed. But however we are not undone for all that. When one Prince marries another's Daughter, he does not blindly espouse all the Interests of his Father-in-law. The King perhaps may not be willing to set his Kingdom in a Flame, in pure Complaisance to the Court of Madrid. His Majesty might have the Satisfaction of ruining himself, if he would reduce those of our Religion to Despair. How wise and judicious were these Reflections! The Series of this History will shew that *du Plessis* did argue but too justly.

He laboured at Court with no less Application and Diligence than he did at *Gre-*
The Duke de Rohan re-solves to declare himself for the Prince de Conde.
noble. But instead of having any regard to the Remonstrances that *du Plessis* made up-
clare himself for the Prince de Conde.
on the necessity of giving some Satisfaction to the Reformed Churches, the ill-advised Queen did delay answering their Memo-
rials. They did critically examine almost all the Articles. The Duke *de Rohan* also was resolved to lay hold of this Opportunity to advance his own partic-
ular Interests. Good Policy seemed to require that they should treat the Re-
formed Party gently, or at least, that they should not provoke a Lord who
was capable of bringing the whole Party Memoires of the Duke of Rohan. L. I.
with him, if he joined himself in Interest The Life of M. du Plessis. L. III.
with the Marechal *de Bouillon*. *Roban* pressed the Performance of the Promise the Queen had made of granting him the Re-
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The History of Book VII.

version of the Government of Poitou, which the Duke de Sulli his Father-in-law was possessed of. But whether it had been since represented to the Queen, that it was dangerous to trust the Duke de Rohan with a Country full of Protestants, and adjoining to some others where they were most powerful : Or, whether they fancied that Rohan and Sulli would never embrace the same Party with the Mareschal de Bonillon their declared Enemy ; and however it would not be very difficult to divide them by granting some good Terms to one or the other, her Majesty refused to grant him the promised Reversion. Rohan terribly nettled at this disappointment, and the little regard they had had for the Advices he had given, resolved to make the Queen sensible that he was a Man who deserved to be kindly treated, and that there was danger in slighting him. The Hopes of powerfully revenging himself on an haughty and ungrateful Court, easily seduces a noble and ambitious Spirit.

Mary de Medicis had apparently made a show as if she had desired to have in Writing the Sentiments of the Duke de Rohan about the Progrefs she had put the King upon for the Accomplishment of his Marriage. The Duke delivered them with a great deal of Freedom and Regard to the Queen's Interests. This small Memoir is an evident Proof of the Wisdom, Uprightness, and Penetration of a Lord, who will make a great Figure in the Sequel of this History.

Political Discourse by the Duke de Rohan upon the Progress of the King.

I am willing to give an Abstract of it, that so we may the better discern the Solidity of his Reasoning and Judgment, and the easy and free way of the Duke de Roban. He confesses first of all that *the former Actions of the Prince de Condé, made his Constancy and good Conduct in the Affair he had undertaken to be a little suspected.* But in short, added he, let us take things at the worst, and suppose the Prince to be quite another Man, than really he is. A Man who becomes once apprehensive that his Faults are prejudicial to him, often corrects himself through that Consideration. The Duke then reflected on the present State of France. He judiciously observed that the difference betwixt the three Orders of the Kingdom upon the Article of the Third State, the Demand made by the Clergy and Nobility for the publication of the Council of Trent, the evil Intention that those two Chambers had shewn against the Reformed, pressing the Observance of the Oath which our Kings take at their Coronation; to conclude, the recalling of the Paulette, tho' his Majesty re-established it again a while after, had caused a general Discontent in all the Provinces. All these things, said Roban, exaggerated with a great deal of Address and Artifice by the Prince de Condé and his Adherents, have wrought very bad Impressions both within and out of the Kingdom. They insinuate to the best Confederates of the Crown, that the Queen, the King of Spain, and the Pope have agreed together to ruin all the Protestants. This is the

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Condition and Posture of our Affairs, concluded the Duke; and the Prince must either remit something of his Interests, or the Queen must yield a little to the time, otherwise there will be an open Rupture. If Condé does remit of his Interest, he is ruined without Recovery, and the Authority of the Queen will be better established than ever. The Prince sees this full well: Therefore he will be more constant than he was the last Year.

These Things being thus supposed, Rohan examined whether the Queen ought in some measure to yield to the time, or whether it was more expedient for her to continue steadfast, tho' they should by it run the hazard of a Civil War. If the Queen puts off the Conclusion of this double Match, said he, and reforms the Government, the Prince will thereupon triumph, his Credit will be advanced by it, and her Majesty's Authority will sink. On the other hand, if she finishes this double Match without redressing (at least in some measure) the Abuses and Disorders the World complains of, 'tis a thousand to one but the Prince of Condé and the Parliament will unanimously make a general Insurrection, not only in Paris but throughout the Provinces. The Fealness of the Confederates against the Crown will still be increased therby. They are afraid of an Union between France and Spain. They think that the backwardness his Majesty shews in protecting the Duke of Savoy, is an evident Proof that there is a strict Confederacy between the two Kings. The Reformed are strangely alarmed, believe that their

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their Ruin is absolutely resolved on by a secret Article of the double Match. These Considerations obliged the Duke to conclude, that their Majesties ought not to set out for Guienne, before they had done something to prevent these Inconveniences.

The better to effect this, he proposed two several ways. The first was, so to settle Matters in Paris, that during the absence of the Court, there should be a strict Correspondence held between the Queen and the Council that was to continue in the Capital City, to prevent the Insurrections of the People; to restore Peace in Savoy, or at least to shew openly, that the Court would not suffer that Spain should oppress the Duke; to satisfy the Allies of the Crown by marrying the second Daughter of France to the Prince of Wales; in short, to use the Protestants kindly, and to convince them that they were sincerely resolved to keep and maintain the Edicts. The second Advice the Duke gave, and which seemed to him both the best and the safest was, that they would write to the Prince de Condé, and acquaint him, that the King having taken into his serious Consideration the Remonstrances of the Parliament, his Majesty resolved to have a regard to them before his Departure for Guienne, and therefore he desired that the first Prince of the Blood would come to assist them with his Counsels in that important Affair.

If Condé does not come to Town, said Roben, you must always act in concert with the Par-

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Parliament. The Prince will have no hand in the Reformation, and the Queen will have all the Honour and Merit arising from it. But it is of the utmost consequence to content the Parliament whatever it cost, especially as to what concerns the Administration of the Finances. This Article must be managed with an extream dexterity. If you give away something against your Will, do not let any body be apprehensive of it, shew your self as if you were pleased with it. By some little Compli-
ance and Dissimulation the Queen will in less than six Months time ruin the Credit and Inter-
est of the Prince, and her Majesty will raise her Authority higher than ever. This new League is nothing near so powerful as that which was made for the publick Good under Lewis XI. and yet it was soon broke by divid-
ing those who were engaged in it. The Queen may do the like. By prevailing with the Par-
liaments one way or other, the Prince will be quickly defeated in his Projects. As for my self, resumed the Duke at the latter end of his Memorial, I will promote by all the means I can think of, the Good of the Kingdom, and will use my utmost Endeavour to oblige those of my Religion to join with me therein. But in case the ill Counsels of some People, or some secret Passions do prevail, and the Reformed be treated in the like manner as we were in the Assembly of Sauthur, I do declare that I will follow the Resolutions of the Assembly that is to be held at Grenoble.

The imprudent Mary de Medicis took of these judicious and sincere Counsels, those

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those that were most agreeable to her own Inclination and to the Interests of her Confidants. The Protestation the Duke *de Rohan* made of his Fidelity, and the Promises the Mareschal *de Lestiguieres* had given to her Majesty, seemed to assure her that the Reformed Party would not attempt any thing in favour of the Prince *de Conde*. But the better and more safely to rely upon that, ought not the Court to have granted something to the Dukes *de Rohan* and *de Sully*? Ought they not rather to have given some favourable Answers to the Memorials of the Assembly of *Grenoble*?

The Duke *de Soubize*, Brother to *Rohan*, joined with the Prince *de Condé*, and *Des-Bordes Mercier* Deputy from the Assembly at the Court, and secretly gained over by the Mareschal *de Bouillon*, took that Opportunity to promote their Designs through the Discontent of the Duke *de Rohan*, upon the Refusal of the Reversion of the Government of *Poitou*. *Des-Bordes* and the two other Deputies of the Assembly exaggerated to this Lord the Contempt the Court shewed to the just Complaints and Demands of the *Reformed*; they exhorted him to join with the Prince *de Condé*; and gave him positive Assurances that the Assembly would embrace the same Party: Insomuch that *Rohan* already upon the turn through the Sollicitations of his Brother, hearkened to the Proposals the Count *de S. Pol* made him of coming over and joining themselves together, to oppose the conclusi-

Memoires of
Rohan. L. I.
Vie de M. du
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nai. L. III.
Lettres &
Memoires du
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on of the double Marriage. The Governors of Places and the chief of the Reform'd Nobility depurated three Gentlemen to the Duke, to assure him that they would make choice of him for their General, and that for the Security of the Promise which the Count de S. Pol had given him he should deliver the Places of Caumont and Fronsac, into the Hands of the Marquess de la Force. In this manner was the Duke de Roban drawn into the Party of the Prince de Condé, through a desire, as he says himself, to be revenged for the slight that had been passed upon him by the Court, through his Complaisance to his Brother, and his readiness to serve those of the Reformed Religion. But that the foremost of these three Motives was the most prevailing there is no reason to doubt.

That Court presently perceived that the Duke de Roban was not in the same Disposition he was before. They apprehended from that time that this discontented Lord would suffer himself at last to be prevail'd upon, and join with the other Malecontents. Therefore to prevent his Friends in conjunction with those of the Marechal de Bouillon, from drawing in the whole Reform'd Party, notwithstanding all the efforts of L'Esquieu, Mary de Medicis and her Ministers did whatever they could to amuse the Assembly with general and ambiguous Answers to the principal Articles of their Memorials. The Queen pretended to have some regard to the Remonstrances made by honest M. de Mornay, and to grant some things.

The General
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Nimes.

things for his sake and upon his Account.

But this Artifice did not go down with him, nor with the Deputies of the Assembly to the Court. The Salve was spread too thick. *Du Plessis* and the Deputies plainly perceived that the Court refused the most important Points for the Security of the Reformed Churches. If they granted some Articles, it was only because they could not do otherwise. How vexed however *du Plessis* was at this Proceeding, yet he persisted in his former Resolution, that they ought to avoid engaging themselves too rashly with the discontented Party. The three Deputies at Court were not so circumspect; they reported to the Assembly the Answers made to their Memorials, and discovered the Illusions to them; in short they increased their Suspicions, by acquainting them in a Letter that *Prest*, the King's Commissioner was to return with them to *Grenoble*, and that he would in probability bring with him a private Order for dismissing the Assembly, in the like manner as that of *Sauvage* had been broke up five years before.

The Friends of the Duke *de Rohan*, and those of the Marechal *de Bouillon* acted then conjointly at *Grenoble*, and *Lesdigneux* perceived that the Assembly being discontented were preparing themselves to be gone out of Town before the coming of the King's Commissioner, and to go to *Nîmes de Lesdigneux* in *Languedoc*, upon pretence that they could there take their Resolutions with more Freedom. The Marechal said they open-

vie de M. du
Plessis L. III
Lettres &
Memoires du
meme.

Histoire du
Comteable

res. L. VIII.

Chap. 8.

Mercure

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ly at Grenoble, resolves to advance his Interest at Court to the prejudice of our Churches. He keeps us here in an honourable Prison. But shall we continue thus till he forces us to break up, before we have obtained any of those most important Articles we have insisted upon, and before we have made some vigorous Resolution to oblige the Court to use us more favourably? The Duke de Rohan and the Count de S. Pol are joined together; they will act jointly in Guienne: The Prince's Army is marching, and is every day increasing. Let us then depart from a Town where we are not free. They are willing to receive us at Nimes: Let us go thither forthwith. We may conveniently treat there with the Prince who makes very advantagious Proposals to us.

They were already so highly exasperated, that the Mareschal de Lesdiguières despaired of being able to retain them any longer. He went the 21st of December to the Assembly, to try if he could dissuade them from the Resolution they had taken of going from Grenoble. His Discourse was well worded, and would have turned much to his Honour, if he had been the Composer thereof. All the reasons capable of making an impression upon the Minds of the Assembly were brought in with great care. However 'twas only a Copy of what du Plessis Mornai had alledged in his Letters and Memoires. Lesdiguières insisted much upon an important Reflection made against those, who grounded upon some former Precedents, asserted, that the Assembly might of them-

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themselves withdraw to some other place, and continue in a Body, without having obtained Leave from the King. What has been done before the publishing of the Edict of Nants in a time of Trouble and Confusion, said the Mareschal, ought not to be brought in as a Precedent for this present Juncture. We live now under the protection of an Edict, drawn up by our own consent, and to the observation whereof, the King and his Subjects have reciprocally engaged themselves. Our Affairs then were in a quite different posture. Persecution and War would not permit us to act dependently upon the Court that were resolved upon our Ruin.

The wife du Plessis Mornai was also of Leines & the same Opinion. The Assembly having no power to meet without the King's leave, it seemed dissolved to this Gentleman, as soon as they should remove themselves into another Place than the Town appointed by his Majesty's Writ. And indeed the Resolution of their leaving Grenoble was of so great moment, and the Consequences thereof were so much to be feared by all the Reformed Churches of France, that the Deputies of the Assembly deserve to be blamed for having taken it up of their own Heads, without ever first consulting with those from whom they had received their Commission. The necessity of the common good of the Reformed was not so very pressing as to excuse the Assembly for their not writing unto their several Provinces, and expecting from thence express Orders what

Memoires de
M. du Plessis
Mornai.

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The History of Book VII.

to do, before they came to such a Conclusion. Their Proceeding herein was rather an effect of the Intrigues of the Marechal de Bouillon and the Duke de Rohan (who embraced the same Party with quite different views) than an Enterprize made with that Prudence and Maturity as was requisite on such a Conjuncture.

*Histoire du
Conseiller
de Lefèvres.
L. VIII.
Cap. 8 & 9.*

Lefèvres was almost mad to see all his Projects so come to nothing ; his fine Remonstrances prove ineffectual, and his Credit well nigh quite ruined among the Reformed Party ; and being thus at his wits end, that he could not make good what he had solemnly promised to the Queen, he resolved forthwith to proceed to Violence. The Gates of the Town were shut up by his Orders ; but considering afterwards with himself, that this Proceeding of his might create an Indignation against him amongst all the Reformed, he ordered them to be open'd again, and contenting himself to retain the Deputies of the Province of Dauphiné, he gave liberty to the rest to go ; and they went to Nîmes, where S. Privas had got every thing ready for their reception. So soon as the Assembly was arrived there, they sent three Gentlemen to the Court, which was then upon its Progrès to Bourdeaux. They had Orders to beseech the King that he would please to give his consent that the Assembly should be held at Nîmes, or at least to appoint them another Place than Grenoble. These Deputies met with no extraordinary ill reception from the Court.

*Ms. de M. da
Bastille Mar-
tini. L. III.
Lettres &c.
Mémoires du
mème.*

Besides,

fides, *du Plessis Mornas* had already taken care to represent to the Queen and her Ministers, how dangerous it would be to exasperate further the greatest number of the Reformed, only to give the Marechal *de Lestiguieres* satisfaction for the Affront he pretended he had received and complained of; and the Court being then in the Provinces where the Reformed were powerful and very numerous, they were afraid of the Consequences that might attend an Insurrection of the Dukes *de Rohan* and *Soubize*, who were openly declared for the Prince *de Condé*.

The Queen dissembled as well as she could, her Resentment and Indignation against the Assembly. Her Majesty agreed to their withdrawing from Grenoble, and taking the Deputies at their Word upon the offer they made to go any where else than to Nimes, she appointed Montpellier for the Place of their Assembly. *Chatillon*, Grandson to the famous *Admiral de Coligny*, was Gouvernour of that Town. His Name, and the Services of the great Men of his Family, got him a great Interest with the Reformed; but yet they suspected him of being no less devoted to the Court than the Marechal *de Lestiguieres*. The Dukes *de Montmorency* and *Ventadour* who were related to *Chatillon*, had drawn him into the Interests of the Queen: And his temper naturally mild and easy, made him averse to Broils, and an utter Enemy to all business of Difficulty. The Assembly excused themselves from going

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ing to *Montpellier*, under pretence that they should meet there as well as at *Grenoble* with a Governour too powerful, and a Sovereign Court that would not permit them to take their Resolutions with Freedom enough. Therefore they continued at *Nimes*; and the Court which was well enough pleased that it had a plausible Reason to look upon the Assembly as illegal and seditious, and to reject all that should be done there, in case the posture of Affairs would permit it to act with its usual Haughtiness; the Court, I say, did not persist in their commanding the Deputies to go to *Montpellier*.

Thus they dissembled with the Reformed Party, because the Prince de Condé already powerful on the other side the Rivers *Marne* and *Seine*, was making preparations to pass also the River *Loire*, and to advance towards *Poitou* and *Guienne*, where the Dukes *de Roban* and *Soubize* designed to join him with the Troops that they had got together. Condé and the Lords of his Party immediately marched towards *Paris*, with four or five thousand Foot very badly armed, and about two thousand five hundred Horse. The general Rendezvous for these Forces was appointed at *Noion* in *Picardy*. It seems, that the Mareschal *de Bois-Dauphin*, whose Army was superior in number, and in a far better Condition, might have defeated, or at least dispersed the Prince's Army, had he but attack'd him at first. But whether that he had Orders still to cover *Paris*, or whether he was afraid left the Mareschal

*The Prince of
Condé passes
over the River
Marne and
Seine.*

*Memoires de
la Regence
de Marie de
Medicis.
Journal de
Bassompier-
re.*

*Mercurie
Francois.
1615,*

de Bouillon, who was more skill'd than him, 1615. and who commanded the Army of the Prince under his Highness, would advance towards Paris, where the discontented Party had their Intelligences and their Confederates, so soon as ever the King's Army should remove from it ; *Bois-Dauphin* continued encamped at *Dammartin*.

Bouillon, who very well knew that the Temper of the *Parisians* was easily to be frightened, made some Motions directly thitherwards with a Design to terrify them. In a Town where People are credulous, every one runs greedily after News, and discourse thereon according to their own Humours, or suitably to their own Interest ; the discontented Party took a World of Pleasure in spreading abroad a thousand Reports enough to scare them out of their Wits, or to make an Insurrection among the People. The Peasants of the neighbouring Villages, and the Inhabitants of the Suburbs had already retired themselves into the City with all their Goods. The Host was exposed in the Churches ; and all the Saints in Paradise were called upon : (for in short, Fear never fails to produce or increase Superstition) *Bois-Dauphin* surpriz'd at this disturbance, and the earnest repeated Instances made to him to come and save that City, which the most courageous amongst all the Inhabitants thought now to be in very great danger of being ruined, was extremely perplexed. *I shall take Care to preserve*

The History of Book VII.

Serve it, answered he in Anger, but I can-not hinder the Partisans from being fright-ned.

This good People gave themselves a world of trouble to no purpose. Condé had had not the least Thoughts of reducing Paris. His Highnes and the Lords of his Party had resolved to march forthwith towards Guienne, and to join the Count de S. Pol and the other Lords, with a Design to prevent if they could the concluding of the double March, and to remove their Enemies from the King's Council and the Court. The Mareschal de Bouillon endeavour'd only to keep his Designs private to himself, in amusing the People with several Reports, which he himself caused to be spread abroad. Whilst they were the least thinking on it, the Army of the Malecontented Party marched on a sudden towards Chateau-Thierry. The Town was invested and taken before Bois-Dauphin was able to relieve it. Bouillon having secured a pass over the River Marne, he made a shew as if he would have marched towards Rbeims ; but this only was a Feint to deceive the Enemy, for unexpectedly he marched towards Meri sur Seine. This River had been sounded by his Orders and found fordable, and he knew very well that the Army might easily pass it with the Artillery. Bois-Dauphin follow-ed the Enemy, and was never further off from them than a Day's March : But this General who was by much superior to them in number, yet durst not attack them ; whe-ther

whether he had received express Orders from the Court to the contrary ; or that *Rouillon* who maintained well his Reputation of being an excellent General, in passing with great Skill and good Fortune several Rivers in the sight of an Army much stronger than his own, had taken such just Measures, that *Bois-Dauphin* who was less skilled and experienced could not oppose his Attempts.

It was at *Meri* upon the River *Seine* that the Prince de Condé and the Lords united to him, being flushed with the happy beginning of their March, put out a Declaration contrary to the Declaration given by the King at *Poitiers*, which was, to bring them to the punishments due to those who are guilty of High Treason ; and against the Decree issued out of the Parliament of *Paris* pursuant thereunto. This Act was drawn the 14th of October in the Name of his Highness and as being assited by those who compose the sole and true Council of the King. Condé first of all therein preffes, that if he has taken up Arms, he has been forced thereunto by the extreme Violence of the Enemies of his Majesty and the Kingdom, who abusing the Minority of the King, usurp the Sovereign Authority, and endeavour to introduce Strangers (viz. the Spaniards) into the Kingdom, to the end that they may avoid, or retard the just punishment which they deserve, as well for the Murder committed on the Person of the late King, as also for other Crimes which they are notoriously guilty of.

This

*Declaration of
the Prince of
Condé ag-
ainst the De-
claration of
the King and
the Decree of
the Parlia-
ment of Paris.*

1615.

This chiefly concerned the Duke d'Epernon, who had undertaken with so much Boldness and Courage to bring the Treaty of the double Match to a conclusion, against the Efforts and Intrigues of the Prince de Condé. They used their utmost Endeavours to make *Epernon* odious, under pretence of the Evidence of *la Descouman*, by whose Depositions he was accused of having a hand in the Murder of *Henry IV.* and several other horrid Facts, contrived by the Enemies of the Duke.

Condé next complained of the Declaration on which *Guise*, *Epernon*, and the Ministers of State disaffected to him, had caused to be published under the King's Name against his Highness and the Lords joined with him. They spoke quite otherwise of the Decree of the Parliament which was issued out afterwards. In order to keep fair with an Assembly, whereof the Prince and his Adherents might perhaps in some time stand in need of, or else to make the People believe, that the Magistrates had not approved of the Declaration of the King; His Highness maintained that his Enemies had falsified or supposed a Decree contrary to the Resolutions of the Parliament. In pursuance whereof, he declared the Authors of the Declaration published under the Name of the King, the Contrivers of the Decree and all their Adherents, *Enemies to his Majesty, the House of France, and the State, Disturbers of the publick Tranquillity, and People that conspired to make the Crown fall into*

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Foreign Hands. The Accusation was overstrained, and 'tis not apprehended what the Prince meant by it. Did he pretend that the Dukes *de Guise* and *Epernon* had any chimerical Design on foot to assist the House of *Austria* to seize *France*? They never were capable of such an Extravagancy. Those ambitious Men design'd at most but to make themselves Masters of the publick Affairs, and to have the over-ruling Power in the King's Council. Whenever Princes draw *Manifesto's*, they do not think so much of preserving their own Reputation, as to exasperate the People against those whom they attack. It seems the Persons of the first Rank fancy that the rest of Mankind make no use of their Understanding, and that the People believe all things upon the Word of a Prince, or a great Lord.

Whatsoever might have been the Designs of *Conde*, who did not trouble himself much upon this Occasion to pass for a strangely malicious Calumniator, he commanded all those who served in the King's Army to be gone immediately and to retire to their several Houses, if they had not rather join themselves to his Highness with a Design to obey their Sovereign under the Authority of the first Prince of the Blood. If they made any longer Resistance, they were declared guilty of High Treason, and the Magistrates were ordered to prosecute them according to the ordinary Rules of Justice. By these absolute Commands of *Conde*, one would fancy that he was at the Head

Head of an Army capable of reducing all the great Lords, the Nobility, and all the Cities of France to his Obedience. Notwithstanding his Forces were but mean, and the Maréchal de Bois-Dauphin might have several times easily dispersed them, had he had leave, or perhaps the Courage and the Skill to fall opportunely upon them.

*The Prince de Condé passe
over the River Loire,
and advances
towards Poitou.*

*Mercure
Français.
1615.*

*Journal de
Bassompierre.*

*Mémoires de
la Régence
de Mary de
Medicis.*

So soon as the Army of the discontented Party had passed the River Saine, they advanced towards the City of Sens. Condé designed to have surprized them by means of the Correspondences he had in the Town ; but Bois-Dauphin and the Marquis de Prassain his Major General, broke his Measures by arriving there before him. The Duke de Piney-Luxembourg had joined the Prince a little time before with three hundred Horse ; but this Succour did no great Service. Luxembourg either through imprudence, or a haughty Carriage, having refused to accept of the Quarters mark'd out for him by the Maréchal de Bouillon, Bois-Dauphin took him and all his Troopers Prisoners, so that the poor Duke was reduced humbly to beg for a Pals from the General of the King's Army to return into Champagne, having lost his Troopers, his Money and his Equipage, which the Enemies had taken and divided among themselves in the fight of the Army of the Prince de Condé. Tho' this Action was brave and vigorous, yet the loss was not considerable enough to dis-

discourage the Mareschal *de Bouillon*. He 1615.
went on and marched towards the River *Loire*, resolving to pass it, and to go through *Berri*, and so to enter into *Poitou*.

The two Armies met so near one another, that every Body thought they would unavoidably come to an Engagement. But the Mareschal *de Bois-Dauphin* was so faint-hearted, or unskillful, that he lost the finest Opportunity he could have wished for to beat the Prince. The King's Army was composed of about ten thousand Men of Veteran Troops, and of two thousand Horse. 'Tis true, the Canon of the Enemies was well enough posted: But their Army was so weak for want of their best Cavalry, which was a great way off under the Command of the Duke *de Longueville*, and in so ill a Condition, being posted in a low Ground, that if the King's Army had only advanced, the Enemy had been put to flight without a Battle. Several Officers pressed *Bois-Dauphin* to take the advantage of this Opportunity. But being deaf to all the good Councils that were given him, he retired himself first after some inconsiderable Skirmishes. *I know what I have to do*, said he. *I have the King's Orders; I must execute them, and answer to him for my Conduct.* *Bouillon* being delivered from so great a Danger, passed with great Diligence and good Fortune the River *Loire*. He had found three Fords about a League from *Boni*. This great Ge-

ne-

neral was as much commended for his Activity and Prudence, as *Bois-Dauphin* was blamed for his Irresolution and Negligence. He alledged in vain, that the express Orders of the King would not permit him to run the hazard of a Battle. His Excuses were but ill received at the Court. This Mareschal should have considered, that the entering of the Prince into *Berri*, was very prejudicial to the Affairs of the King, and extreamly revived tho Hopes of the Discontested Party. Six hundred Germans besides marched from *Scandan* through *Champagne*, passed the River *Loire*, and came to join *Conde's* Army in *Berri*. The Prince marched with all possible Diligence, till he arrived on the Frontiers of *Touraine* and *Poitou*.

*The Misfortune
of the
Mareschal
Bois-Dau-
phin.*

*Journal de
Bassompierre.*

The Subalterne Officers of the King's Army mightily blamed their General, who otherwise had yet a very good Opinion of his own Conduct. Their Majesties have intrusted me with their Army to secure the Provinces on this side of the River *Loire*, said *Bois-Dauphin* very gravely in a Council of War which he assembled some few Days after the Troops of the Prince of *Conde* had passed the River. I have, Thanks be to God, honourably secured those Provinces. And I may say without Vanity, that I have acquired Glory by driving the Rebels beyond the River, and setting thereby a Barrier between their Army and ours. There remains nothing to be done now but

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to go and retake Chateau-Thierri, Epernay, and Meri sur Seine. After this being done, the Prince will have not an Inch of ground in that Countrey, the Defence whereof was committed to my Charge. Bassompierre, General of the Swissers, lost all manner of Patience, in seeing the foolish Vanity and Blindness of a Man that had thus let go an Enemies Army whom God had delivered into his Hands. Is it possible, Sir, said this Officer with Indignation to the Mareschal de Bois-Dauphin, that you should have the Thoughts of leaving the King destitute of Forces, to the Discretion of the Prince who is marching to attack him with fresh Troops, encouraged by the Success of their marching? His Majesty expected that you should have hindered the Enemies from following him, which you have not done as yet. 'Tis no matter for taking some Places of no great moment either to the one nor the other. To stop the Princes Army, that was your Business. Let us march after him in the Name of God. He is going directly to the King. What will be the Surprize of their Majesties, when they shall be informed that you have suffered the Enemies Army to escape you, and that they are advancing towards Guienne? The other Officers so vigorously back'd the Advice of Bassompierre, that their imprudent General came again to himself, and marched the King's Army towards Orleans, and from thence into Touraine, to oppose, (if possibly

*The Count de
S. Pol. leaves
the Duke de
Rohan, and
makes his
Peace with
the Court.*

*Medicis.
Mercure
Francois.*
1615.

*Memoires of
Rohan. L I*

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Sbly he could) the entring of the Prince de Condé into Poitou.

The Duke de Rohan was nothing near so fortunate as the Mareschal de Bouillon. At his Arrival in Guienne, Rohan was informed that the Count of S. Pol and the Roman Catholick Nobility of his Party, had made their Treaty with the Court. The Countess de S. Pol frightned by the Directors of her Conscience, who were continually threatening her with the Torments of Hell, if she would not use her utmost Endeavours to break off the Engagements her Husband was entered into with the Hereticks against the Service of God and the King; this Lady, I say, was so very importunate with the Count, that at last he resolved to accept the Advantages which were proposed by the Queen, upon this Condition, that in forsaking the Party of the Prince de Condé, he should recall his Word which he had passed to the Duke de Rohan and the Heads of the Reformed Nobility in Guienne. This unexpected Turn disappointed Rohan and his Friends. Yet notwithstanding they did not lose their Courage. They did all they could to get to the Duke an Army of six thousand Foot and five hundred Horse, which might have been able to stop the Duke de Guise who was to conduct the Lady Elizabeth to the Frontiers, and to bring the Infanta to Bourdeaux. But what Pains soever the Duke de Rohan, the Mar-

ques

ques de la Force, and several other considerable Protestants could take, they were not able to get above two thousand Men together.

1615.

The Duke d'Epernon could never have been able to have conducted their Majesties to *Guienne*, and bring them safe to *Bourdeaux*, had not the Intrigue of the Count of *Candale* his Son been discovered, and had not the Count de *S. Pol* dishonourably gone from his Word he had given to the Duke de *Rohan*, whom he had himself sollicited to declare, and to come into *Guienne*. These two Disappointments and the Impossibility the Mareschal de *Bozillon* was under of advancing the Army of the Prince de *Condé* towards *Poitou* sooner, gave an Opportunity to the King and Queen to arrive safely at *Bourdeaux* the seventh of October, tho' the Illness of the Lady Elizabeth of France had for a long time kept the Court at *Poitiers*. Mary de Medicis was so over-joyed that she had overcome these great and unexpected Difficulties, that she shed some Tears at her entring into *Bourdeaux*. Their Majesties were received there with the usual Pomp and Acclamations of the People. Roquelaure, Mareschal of France, Lieutenant-General for the King in *Guienne*, and Mayor of that City had prepared the Inhabitants thereof, who are naturally Vain-glorious, to make a Reception.

*Mercure
Francois.
1614.*

*Memoires de
M. de Sirot.
Tom. I.*

*The King and
the Queen ar-
rive at Bour-
deaux.*

1615. exception to the Court answerable to the pretended Honour the Queen made them, in choosing their City for the appointed Place to compleat the Marriage of the King with the *Infanta*, and of *Madam* eldest Daughter of *France* with the Prince of *Spain*.



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